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to D. Grant.

THE
SĒIR ^{et} MUTAQHERĪN;

O R

VIEW OF MODERN TIMES:

BEING AN

HISTORY OF INDIA.

FROM THE YEAR 1118 TO THE YEAR 1194 OF THE HEDJRAH.

CONTAINING, IN GENERAL,

THE REIGN OF THE SEVEN LAST EMPERORS OF HINDOSTAN,

AND, IN PARTICULAR,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH WARS IN BENGAL.

WITH A CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAIL OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FAMILIES OF

SERADJ-ED-DÖWLAH AND SHUDJAH-ED-DÖWLAH,

THE LAST SOVEREIGNS OF BENGAL AND OWD.

TO WHICH THE AUTHOR HAS ADDED

A CRITICALEXAMINATION OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND
POLICY IN THOSE COUNTRIES, AS FAR DOWN AS THE YEAR 1783.

THE WHOLE WRITTEN IN PERSIAN BY

SEID - GHOLAM - HOSSĒIN - KHAN,

AN INDIAN NOBLEMAN OF HIGH RANK,

WHO WROTE BOTH AS ACTOR AND SPECTATOR.

VOLUME THE III. IN FOUR SECTIONS.

SECTION I.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED FOR THE TRANSLATOR.

MDCCLXXXIX.

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MDCCLXXXIX.

TRANSLATION OF THE SEIR MUTAQHERIN,

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VIEW OF MODERN TIMES, &c.

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A TRANSLATION
OF THE
SËIR MUTAQHERIN,

OR
VIEW OF MODERN TIMES, &c.

SECTION I.

THE Lovers of History, and those fond of enquiring into the diversity of events, will remember, doubtless, that in closing the First Volume of the Review of Modern Times, which was finished in the year 1195 of the Hedjrah, by this humblest and most inconsiderable of the sons of men, Gholam-hoffein, son to Hedäiet-aaly-Qhan, grandson to Seyd-aalim-ollah, and great-grandson to Seyd-faiz-ollah, the Tebatebäite of the race of Hassen, (on all whom may the divine mercy and forgiveness extend for ever!) I had carried that history as far down as the twenty-second year of the Forgiven Emperor, Mahomed-shah, answering to the year 1152 of the hedjrah; to which history, I had thought it incumbent upon me to add a full narrative of the affairs of Bengal, being invited thereto by the novelty of the matter, as well as borne away by the number and variety of events that

B

crowded

crowded upon me in that particular part: they remember doubtless, I say, that in closing that Volume, I had promised, that if I lived, I would continue the History of that Emperor as well as that of his successors: I do, therefore, undertake to fulfill that promise of mine, in humble hopes that the bestower of unasked benefits, and the conferrer of unexpected favors, after having assisted me in my former Work, shall vouchsafe to support me in bringing my whole Undertaking to a completion; and that by illuming with some of the rays of his goodness, the dark understanding of this vile instrument, he shall vouchsafe to direct with a faint emanation of his unerring wisdom, the trembling pen, and the defective style of this insufficient individual; so as to keep them unfullied by the blemishes of error, and untainted with the vices of partiality: for he is the Omnipotent One, and the worthy Bestower of Favors.

WE have already observed, that Nizan-el-mulk, under pretence of a hunting party, but really out of discontent against the court, had marched out of the capital, and had encamped in its neighbourhood, where he was loitering these many days without any apparent purpose; nor was his intention guessed at, but on the seventeenth of Muharrem, in the year 1153 of the hedjrah, when that Viceroy hearing of the resolution that had lately taken place at court, and of Emir-Qhan's departure for Ilah-abad, he returned to the city, and paid his respects to the Emperor. Some months after he received repeated intelligence that his son Nizam-eddöulah-nassyr-Djung, (1) listening to the suggestions of some impudent and thoughtless advisers, acted in an independent manner, and had intirely shaken off all respect for his father's authority. The old general, obliged to bring his son to order, obtained the Emperor's consent for his departure; and as his intended expedition became incompatible with the exercise of his office of Prince of Princes, he first obtained that his eldest son Ghazi-eddin-khan should be invested with that dignity, as Deputy to his father; and on the fourteenth of the first Djemadi,

(1) This Nassyr-Djung, is the Prince assassinated by his own officers, who were in the confederacy with Mons. Dupleix, governor of the French Fortrefs of Pondicherry.

he set out for the Decan: But as he was perpetually endeavouring to reclaim his rebellious son, and a deal of time was spent in negotiations and in sending and receiving messages, nine or ten months had already elapsed before he could arrive in the territory of Aoreng-abad, where he encamped on the western parts of that city; and it was the seventh of the first Djemady, in the year 1154, when the father finding that neither reasoning nor entreaties made any impression upon that unnatural son, gave him battle, and took him prisoner, after a sharp engagement, in which the rebellious son was wounded. But this short civil war in Decan did not interrupt the tranquility of the capital nor of the empire.

Nizam-ul-mulk
beats his own
son in battle, &
takes him pri-
soner.

AFTER Emir-Qhan's departure for his government, Issac-Qhan's favour reached to the cupola of heaven: he became the most beloved of the Emperor's favourites; and at the same time the disinterested advice which he had secretly given in behalf of the Vizier Cammer-eddin-Qhan and Nizam-el-Mulk having become public, he was likewise cherished by the two latter, as their best friend. New honours and new emoluments were heaped upon him; and besides the Qhaliffah-office, that is, the controul of all the expediture of the public money, he had the command of a brigade of cavalry, the latter was so much increased, that several thousand horses were to be seen at one time, all marked with a *Kaf*, which was the last letter of his name. He was likewise the lord on whom the Emperor reposed the greatest confidence. But fate did not permit him long to enjoy so high a degree of favour: his eyes swelled at once, and the swelling gaining his nose, he sunk under his distemper, and in five or six days illness, he departed this fragile world; and having answered his Lord's invitation, by the words, *I am ready*, he repaired to the mansions of the divine mercy: It was in the month of Safer of the same year. A few days after his demise, the Qhaliffa-office, which he had left vacant, was conferred on Abdol-Madjid-Qhan a Cashmirian; and he was installed in it with a Qhylaath of six pieces (2). Issac-Qhan having departed his life,

(2) The Qhylaath is always composed of rich stuffs; but a Qhylaath-matemi, or of Mourning, is always of muslin dyed black or green, and is put on immediately; but always set aside after one day. There are other tokens of Mourning used in Hindostan, as for instance, dirty cloathes, a disordered turbant, a neglected beard and body.—
The

life on the second of Safer, his three sons, on the ninth paid their respects to the Emperor, who received them with the greatest kindness and distinction; and each of them was honoured with a Qhylaät of mourning. The eldest of them, Mirza-Mahmed, had his name changed into that of his father's, Iffac-Qhan; and in a little time he got so deeply in the Emperor's good graces, that the Monarch was often heard to say that if Iffac-Qhan had not left Mirza-Mahmed behind, he did not know how he should have been able to go through life. His tendernefs for the new Iffac-Qhan rose so high, that it was customary with him to take the latter's son, then a child, within his throne, and, contrary to the established rules, to make him sit over against himself, like an Imperial Prince. He was no less profuse in his kindnefses to the two younger sons of the late Iffac-Qhan, who were Mirza-ally-Qhan, and Mirza-Mahmed-ally.

It was in this same month of Safer, that Badji-räo, the famous Maratta general, departed his life, after feeling for some days a pain in his bowels. By his death, the viceroyalty of Malva, being deemed vacant, the same was conferred on Zehir-ed-dö8lah-Azim-ollah-Qhan, who had espoused the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan's sister. This nobleman, who was very inconsiderate, having had the imprudence to accept so dangerous an office, was invested in his new Government with a rich Qhylaät: But it availed little; for he had never borne a character for much prudence and great abilities. The fodjdary of Befsöulah was at the same time conferred on Himmet-Dilir-Qhan, who received the investiture of it in a Qhylaät of four pieces, to which was added a Sabre; and he set out for the capital in the month of the first Reby. A month after, a Qhylaät of confirmation for the fodjdari of the Dö-ab, was bestowed on Djani-Qhan, a Tooranian, who had given his

The body is always carried to its grave within the day, and from that moment victuals cease to be prepared in the house: friends and relations take care for three days to provide for the family. The third day they are all invited to a commemoration, nay they come without invitation, when a prayer is pronounced over some Betel or Paan, and some flowers, the latter of which are sent to the grave, whilst the former is distributed to the invited, for whom victuals have been dressed in the house, part of which go to the poor. The fortieth day this ceremony is repeated, after which the family bathe, purify themselves, and put on clean clothes. This ceremony is also performed the ninth or tenth day. It is called Poot Paan, and also Maatem-poxfi.

daughter

daughter in marriage, to Muaien-el-mulk, son to the Vizir-camer-eddin-Qhan. In the month of the second Djemady, Intyzam-ed-dö8lah, second son of that minister, who on Qhan-döuran's being slain in the battle against Nadyr-shah, had been appointed viceroy of Adjmir, was dismissed to his government: and a few days after, Semsam-eddö8lah, who bore the same title as his father, Qhan-dö8ran, received an additional grade of a thousand horses; in consequence of which his military rank rose to the command of seven thousand. About the end of the year, and in the night of the twenty seventh of Redjeb, Mir-fahr-eddin-Qhan, one of the sons of the Vezir-camer-eddin-Qhan, married the daughter of the late Muzaffer-Qhan, brother to Qhan-dö8ran; and these Nuptials were celebrated with pomp, as were those of Intizam-eddö8lah, the Vizir's eldest son, with the late Qhandöuran's daughter, on the night of the first day of the Ramazan. A strange event closed these rejoicings: the third of Muharrem, of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty four of the hedjra, happened to be the new year's day. (3)

ON the twenty fourth of Shaaban, of the same year, a daughter was born to Mahmed-shah, from Sahabah-mahal (4), daughter to Sofiah-sooltana-begum; which last was sister to Malekah-zemani, daughter to a sister of Sadat-Qhan; this princess had chanced to be seen by Mahmed-shah, who fell in love with her charms, and having married her, brought her to the Mahal-fera, or Seraglio. About this time, Azim-allah-Qhan, having proved by his ill conduct how little able he was to get the province of Malva out of the hands of the Marattahs, was neglected by the Emperor, and fell into contempt; he was an opinionated obstinate man, who gave so many proofs of ill conduct, that even the Vizir himself, his kinsman, whose sister he had married, conceived a disgust against his manners. The man, incensed at these marks of general contempt, resolved to shew his resentment in his turn, and had the imprudence to quit all at once the palace of the late Aaly-merdan-Qhan

(3) This is very remarkable, as the solar festival of the No8-r8z, is a day of rejoicing, and the first ten days of the lunar month of Muharrem, are deemed days of mourning.

(4) *Sahabah-Mahal*, signifies the lady of the seraglio; and *Maleka-Zemani*, signifies the Queen of the age.

where he resided; and to go and encamp without leave at the Char-bagh, a seat belonging to the Vizir, as if to change his ground, exactly like one who intended to set out on an expedition. The Emperor, shocked at his behaviour, vacated his office of Sadr-el-Soodoor, and bestowed it on Sheriat-ollah-Qhan, who had enjoyed it before. At the same time, the command of the Goozerbans, or door and way-keepers, was conferred on Agher-Qhan, the Turk; as was the Fodjdari of Soharen-poor, on Hafiz-eddin-Qhan. This Agher-Qhan was, with some other commanders, ordered to watch and attend Azim-ollah-Qhan's behaviour and motions, and they kept round his post for some days; when the man, being sensible of the imprudence of his conduct, thought proper to repent, and to return to his house; where, having dismissed his troops, he lived retired. This same year, it being the festival of the sacrifice, a Comet, with a tail of a full yard in length, made its appearance in the sign of *Caper*, inclining to the South. At last it turned to the North, and after having shined for a full month, it disappeared. And on the thirteenth of Moharrem, being the beginning of the year 1155, the Nöurooz, or New Year's Day, was celebrated with the usual ceremonies. There were some more promotions this year: Radj-Mahmood-Qhan, the Cazi of Cazies, that is, the Supreme Judge of the Empire, having departed his life, his office was conferred on Moorad-eddin-Qhan; and this nobleman was installed in that high dignity with a Qhyla at of four pieces. In the month of Redjeb, Sheriat-ollah-Qhan, the Sadr-el-Soodoor, son to Mir Djumlah, that great favorite of Feroh-syur's, departed his life. It was in this year that there happened a conjunction of two Planets, in the end of the sign *Leo*, according to the Astronomical Tables, drawn up under the inspection of the learned Radja Djehi-Sing-Ketchvaha, by the mathematicians Mirza-Qhäir-ollah and Shek Mahmed-Ayed, who comprised their observations in a book, commenced and finished under Mahmed-Shah: But according to Ooloogh-beg's tables (5), this conjunction happened in the beginning of the sign of *Virgo*.

(5) An European would be surprized to hear who this astronomer is: he was not only a Tartar, but also a Prince, Sovereign of Boqhara, in Eurbeg-Tartary, an Historian, a Warrior and a Geographer. As an Astronomer only, he is vastly superior in abilities to Alphonso of Castille; and he had measured a degree of the earth, several centuries before Picard had thought of his line across all France, in Louis the Fourteenth's time.

IN that same year, Azim-ollah-Qhan, tired of living private in his house, eloped from it, and for the second time quitted the City, with an intention to go to Lahor. He was that same day pursued by the sons of the Vizier Camer-eddin-Qhan and Haider-Cooly-Qhan, at the head of the Regiment, called of Cabool, and of some other troops; amongst which was the body of two thousand horses belonging to the Artillery. Azim-ollah-Qhan, sensible of his being pursued, made so much haste, that in eight days he arrived at Lahor, where Zekeriah Qhan, who was allyed to him, (the two nobleman having married the two sisters,) received him in his palace, and made him a present of elephants and horses, and of every thing else requisite to appear like a nobleman of his high rank. Mean while, those that pursued him, coming to the gates, the Governor received them with respect, gave them an entertainment, and, after having put to them many questions about their ulterior orders, he delivered his brother-in-law into their hands, and dismissed them, satisfied with the reception they had met with. The two officers having marched without stopping, carried their prisoner to Shah-djehan-abad, where he was, by an Imperial order, confined in the Citadel. In this same year, on the last day of the month of Shawal, there happened, in the sign of *Virgo*, a conjunction of the Planets, of bad omen (6). On the seven-teenth of Zilcaadah, the Emperor set out of the City on a hunting party, and encamped in a garden contiguous to the town of Louly; but a few days after he was seized by an Esquinancy and a palpitation of the heart, which was soon followed by a pain in the side, and by a swelling that disturbed the animal excretions, and impeded the admission of liquids as well as solids; he was immediately requested to lose some blood, and to suffer an application of some leeches. But this not affording the desired relief, he returned in a few days to the Citadel, where, after some repose, he found himself better. The Nö8 R8z, or new year's day, fell this year, on the twenty-fourth of Muharrem, of 1156.—On a Tuesday, being the seventh of the first Djemady, of the same year, Saad-eddin-Qhan Mir-ateshy, as

(6) Jupiter and Mars, or rather Saturn and Mars,—as those of good omen are Jupiter and Venus.

well as steward of the Imperial household, after having made his obeisance to the presence, went home; and, about midnight, he found himself ill of a pain in the bowels, of which he expired before day-break. His son, having, a few days after, made his appearance before the Emperor, received a *Qhyla*at of mourning, with the confirmation of his father's two offices; to which was added a fringed *Paleky*, and an augmentation of his Military grade; so that he was now commander of five-thousand horses, and grand-master of the *Imperial Palace, as well as Steward of the Household*. In this same year an Imperial order, backed by notes in the Emperor's hand, was severally dispatched to Emir-Qhan, Viceroy of Ilah-abad; to Abool Mansoor-Qhan, governor of Aood; to Zekeriah-Qhan, Viceroy of Lahor, and Moltan; to Radja-baht-Sing, Rat-hor; and to Radja Dehiradj-Djehi-Sing; as well as to several other persons of distinction, requesting their immediate attendance at Court. Nizam el Mulk likewise received a similar order; but that Viceroy excused himself upon his great age, and the debility of body inseparable from it. The truth is, that being at the head of six Soobahdaries, or Viceroyalties, he thought himself strong enough to decline going to Court; he had besides resolved on conquering the kingdom of Carnatic, had already besieged and taken the fortress of Tir-China-pally (7), and received Arcat at composition. As to Radja Dehi-radj-Djehising-Sevai, he died the seventh of Shaaban, which was about the time of the Hindoo festival of the Daffara, when three Ranies or princesses, his consorts, with three of his concubines, and some of his dancing-women, thought proper to follow him into the other world, and burned themselves, together, with his body, on his funeral pile; which in the Indian language is termed to become *Satti* (8). We have said, that several Viceroys had been ordered to court. Abool-mansoor-Qhan, on receiving the imperial command, referred himself for his compliance, to Emir-Qhan, his neighbour, of Ilah-abad, with whom he was closely connected, and to whom he acknowledged himself beholden for his promotion. That keen-sighted nobleman, thinking that the

(7) Once a great city, and fortress in the Carnatic; but now greatly fallen.

(8) This word is an adjective, coming from *Sat*, which signifies together.

bringing a general of that character to court would redound to his own honor and advantage, exhorted him to comply with the Imperial mandate; and, on the other hand, Abool-manfoor Qhan having conceived that his affairs would receive some benefit by making a stay at court, resolved to make the voyage; and he tarried sometime to complete his preparations. Radja Nevol-Ray was ordered to act in his absence as his deputy: this was a man whom he had raised from a common trooper in his service, to the highest dignities at his Court, and whose abilities and zeal were so agreeable to him, that he had lately made him his Pay-master-general. After making his mind easy on that subject, and spending some more time with his several governors and deputies, he fixed a day for his departure, as he had given his word to Emir-Qhan that he would be in the capital, a few days only after him. The latter put his affairs in order, and left for his deputy Syëd-Mahmed-Qhan, an Iranian, renowned for an heroical bravery, which had greatly raised his character, when he commanded at Corrah; after that he set out on his journey; and on the twenty-ninth of Ramazan, he arrived on the strand of the Djumna, over against the venerable Citadel of the Imperial city. There he was met, two days after, by the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, who on that day, which happened to be the festival ending the fast, came out of the city, took him on his own elephant, and carried him to his Palace. On that same evening, Emir-Qhan went to Court, and had the honor to pay his obeisance, and to kiss the columns of the Imperial throne.

As to Abool-manfoor-Qhan, on the day destined for his departure he heard that Sëyd-Hedaïet-aly-Qhan, my father (in whose company I had the honor to be, being then a very young man) was coming to Feïz-abad-Aood; upon which he sent Semi-beg-Qhan, his introducer, to receive him at some distance from the city. My father having embraced Semi-beg-Qhan, came with him to Feïz-abad, where he payed his respects to Abool-manfoor-Qhan; but as that Viceroy was going to mount, and waited only for the favorable moment, the visit was an abridged one; and my illustrious father landed at

Semi-beg-Qhan's house. In about an hour after, Abdol-Rahim-Qhan, astrologer to the Viceroy, having seen the sun in his astrolabe, sent word that this was the favorable moment; and the governor mounting immediately, went and took his Quarters in his Pish-khana, or set of spare tents, that had been pitched for him in a camp at a short distance from the City of Feiz-abad: There he stopped a few days, and then set out for the capital, carrying with him, not only the best part of his troops, but also his whole family. Being arrived at a particular spot upon the Ganga, between Cannodje and Mekenpoor, famous for the monument of Sha-Medar, he stopped four days there, both to pay his respects to that venerable spot, and to throw a bridge over the river, with the boats which he always carried with him over land. The bridge being ready, he first dismissed his deputy, Radja Nevol-räy, and then bestowed the fodjary of Qhair-abad on my father, to which he added this compliment: "You are already fatigued by a long voyage, and I therefore leave you to take some repose; but should you not agree with Raja Nevol-räy, then you shall come to me again at the capital." This attention was flattering; but my father, not pleased with his being put under the orders of a deputy, desired to follow him to court. Being in the territory of Djan-Siter, on the day ending the fast of the Ramazan, that general stopped one day to fulfil the rites of that festival, which consist in marching armed in procession to some distance in the fields, and in assisting at the Qhootbah (10), for which purpose he ordered a number of tents to be pitched at some distance from his camp; after this he marched on, and arrived in the territory of Shah-Djehan-abad. There he was met by his own agent at

(10) The Qhootbah is a prayer pronounced standing by the officiant, but with his face turned to the people. It begins by the profession of faith, by a prayer not to, but for, Mohammed, and his four first successors, and ends by a prayer for the reigning Prince; after which the Priest as well as the whole assembly pronounce the Fateha in a low voice, and the assembly is then dismissed.

This Fateha is pronounced by way of appreciation. The officiant has in his hand a staff or a sabre, just as the place in which he now officiates, has been taken by capitulation or by storm. It is customary, on the day of the sacrifice, and whilst he is praying for the reigning Prince, to throw over his shoulders a Qhyla, or dress of honor, and the same person rolls a rich turban round his head. This commemoration of the Prince, in the Qhootbah, amounts to an oath, or act of allegiance.

court,

court, Radja Latchimi-Naräin, and by Sëyd-Neffar-Mohammed-Qhan, the Shir-Djung, a Lord of the court, who was son to Syädet-Qhan, brother to the late Saadet-Qhan, and of course nearly related to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan: this spot was at three day's journey from the capital; and thither he proceeded in all haste; but being arrived on the bank of the Djumnah, he thought it incumbent upon him to make his appearance with some pomp and magnificence. Leaving, therefore, his baggage behind, he marched on in great order, being then within sight of the Citadel; he had with him about ten thousand men of cavalry, all well mounted, and well armed, the Hindostanies upon horses of value of their own country; the Moguls, of whom his army mostly consisted, upon Persian horses; all stout and vigorous, all armed to advantage, all dressed in scarlet, and cutting an appearance equally pompous and formidable. This body was interspersed with a number of elephants, carrying Ambaris covered with beaten gold; the general was preceded by the elephants richly caparisoned, which carried superb ensigns, and marched slowly, surrounded by his troops. Luckily for him it had rained the whole night, and the morning proved fair and cool, when he made his appearance before the building, called the octagonal tower; which being richly gilt, shone in emulation of the then rising sun: the Emperor was there, although not visible: the general, on approaching the tower, alighted from his elephant, and, according to custom, made a profound bow, and stood a while in a respectful posture; the Monarch answered his bow by sending him one of the roses then before him, with some fruit which was presented by an eunuch of the presence; the Viceroy mounted again and returned to his camp, leaving the Emperor much pleased with the show and the warlike appearance of his troops. All this was yet on the other side of the Djumna. The eleventh of Shevval having been pointed out to the general as the favorable moment, he early crossed the river, on a bridge which the emperor had ordered to be thrown over for him, and encamped on a spot on the other side, where he had pitched his camp; and where the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan had also
ordered

ordered a number of tents to be pitched for his own retinue, and a magnificent one for himself; that minister intending to meet the Viceroy and to bring him to court. Sometime after the Vizir made his appearance, and having ordered a number of the Viceroy's people who had filled the tents, to withdraw, and to sit without on their Zin-posh, (11). he filled the largest with his own people, and took his place in it: After tarrying some moments, he came out, with a small number of persons of distinction, and advanced towards a large tent with a very large enclosure that embraced a spacious yard. On the Vizir's making his appearance at the gate of the inclosure, the general, who was only attended by a small number of men of distinction, amongst whom was my father, got up from his mesned, and advanced out to meet him; and the minister being already in the middle of the yard, they embraced each other, as is the custom in India; and took together their seats on one and the same mesned. After half an hour's conversation, paan and several kinds of Aturs (12) were brought in and accepted; and on the Vizir's getting up, he was presented with a number of qhoans or trays (13); some covered with curious and costly stuffs, and some with jewells set and unset; after which he departed; and at that very moment he received another present of Elephants and Horses; and as it had been agreed, that the minister should precede him to court, and that the general should follow close, the Vezir was yet within sight, when the general mounted, and, with a deal of pomp and magnificence, he arrived at the gate of the Imperial palace, where in the evening he had the honor to be presented, and to make his three bows; from thence he repaired

(11) Zin-posh, (Saddle-cover); it is in general of broad-cloth and lined, and so ample as to serve for a carpet to two or three men.

(12) Atur, is in general taken for the essential Oil of Roses, extracted from Rose-water, by the heat of the sun. It is a precious drug, very scarce, and it has sold at Calcutta, for a hundred times it's weight in silver. There are other Aturs, but not quite so dear.

(13) Those Tables are about two or three feet in length, and two in breadth; elegantly painted, gilt, and varnished, and also railed in. They are brought covered with rich brocade fringed. The master of the ceremonies, or some other person of consequence, draws each table close to the Lord complimented, and uncovering only part of them, gives him a glimpse of the contents, one table after another.

to Dara-Shecooh's palace, which had been given by the Emperor to the general's uncle and father-in-law, the famous Saadet-Qhan: his army, which was considerable, continued pouring into the city the whole night; and a mighty city it must have been indeed, where several such Princes, as Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, Emir-Qhan, Zekariah-Qhan, and Nizam-el-mulk, could enter with their numerous armies, and as numerous attendants, without occasioning, in the houses and streets, the least appearance of throng or confusion. The citizens, who had business with those princes, were obliged to inquire where they had landed; but the common people knew nothing of either their being come in, or of their being gone out.

My forgiven father, also, having hired the seat of Radja Baht-mul, who had been Divan of the Imperial Qhaliffah, went into the city. On the eighteenth of the same month Shah-nevaz-Qhan, son to Zekariah-Qhan, but who was commonly known by the name of Mirza-Pahlory, under which he had acquired some character for bravery and military abilities, was in the evening admitted to the honour of paying his bows to the Emperor. A month after, but in the same year, Abed-ally-Qhan, second son to Mir-Djemlah, was promoted to the office of Supreme Sadr, and honoured with a Qhylaat; and four days after Bend ally-Qhan, son to Ghäiret-Qhan the Hufseian, who bore the same title as his maternal grand-father, namely that of Shir-ef-ken (14), having been introduced by Emir-Qhan, with whom he had come to court, was graciously received, and presented with a Qhylaat of five pieces. About this time, it being a cool night, of the thirteenth Shevval, the nuptials of the Imperial Prince Ahmed-Mirza with a lady descended from Mehabet-Qhan, were celebrated with a deal of magnificence: this same year, 1156, being a Friday, the twenty-fourth of Zilcaadah, a comet, with a tail half a yard in length, made its appearance, and shone for two and twenty days together, beginning with the dusk of the evening, and continuing as late as midnight; it

(14) Shir-ef-ken signifies the tearer and overthrower of Lions; and also the tearing Lion, and overthrowing Lion.

remained motionless betwixt the end of *Pisces* and the beginning of *Aries*. At the end of that time, it seemed to move between the two signs towards the south-west; but then its tail assumed a pike's length, from the fifteenth of the next month of Zilhidja; and the comet itself became of the bigness and brightness of *Vesper*, always increasing in magnitude and brilliancy, and inclining towards the East; when it disappeared on the last day of that same month. On the fourth of that month Sheh-saad-ollah, Divan of the musters, departed his life, as did, the next day, Mehr-Perver, consort to Bahadyr-shah, and grandmother to Mahmed Shah; and they were both, according to their requests, buried close to Choodja-Cootoob-eddin's monument. This same day, the viceroyalty of Gudjrat was conferred on Fahr-eddö8lah, brother to Roshen-eddö8lah.

THIS was an indifferent choice, but it became necessary; for that Kingdom having, as we have said in the former volumes, been severed from the Imperial jurisdiction, and transferred to the Marhattas, who held it these many years with a strong grasp, no one chose to accept such a charge. But as the new Viceroy bore a character for valour, Mahmed-yar-Qhan, whom we have mentioned to have quitted Abool-Mansoor-Qhan's service, attached himself to him, and engaged him to turn his views towards that dangerous country. The story of that officer is singular enough:—Tired with the laborious life he was obliged to lead in the camp of so active a man as Nadyr-Shah, and fearing likewise his animadversion upon some other subjects, he had fled to Hindostan, where he had remained concealed, during that Monarch's sojourn; after his departure, he attached himself to Saadet-Qhan, his countryman, who knew him for a man of great courage, and carried him to Fëiz-abad, where he soon had an opportunity to signalize his abilities: a report spread at that time at Benares, where that general was with his army, that a great treasure of money was approaching from Bengal, under a double escort of Marhattas, commanded by a Marhatta General; and of Hindostanics, commanded by an officer sent by Zin-eddin-ahmed-Qhan,

Qhan, Viceroy of Azimabad. This convoy was sent by Aly-verdy-Qhan, of Bengal, to Baladji-rão, the Marhatta Generalissimo, and was then on its way to the Marhatta Camp. It was this Treasure which Mahmed-yar-Qhan undertook to carry off. Setting out with about two thousand Mogul Horses, he made so much haste to overtake it, that on his arrival at Saherferam, he found himself with only seventy Horses. With this handful of men, he fell upon the enemy, killed some, threw the whole in disorder, and his troops following apace, he had already beaten the enemy before the whole of his force could arrive: he had killed numbers of them, made some prisoners, dispersed the rest, and seized the treasure, with which he returned to Benares (15). A service of that importance, instead of promoting his interest, ruined him in Saadet-Qhan's mind: the Viceroy took umbrage at so much daringness, and a coolness took place between them; for the Officer, having parted from him in disgust, had now taken service with Fahr-ed-dö8lah. The man, full of resentment, expected to be able to debauch the Mogul troops in Abool-mansoor-Qhan's service, and to bring into his possession, by some means or other, his artillery also; after which, he doubted not, but under Fahr-ed-dö8lah's name, he would drive the Marhattas from Gudjrat. Full of this scheme, he fell to work, and intrigued with the Moguls; but those people, who had fled from the laborious life they had led in Nadyr-Shah's Camp, and now enjoyed some rest in Abool-mansoor-Qhan's service, did not choose to listen to a man whom they knew to be of a cholerick restless temper, that would engage in endless expeditions, and allow them not a moment of rest; and they refused his offers flatly, and none staid with

(15) Mahmed-yar-Qhan being sent for on the first intelligence of the treasure being on the road, that officer without waiting for the Viceroy's speaking, broke out: *I will do it,—I am precisely,* said he, *the man you want for such an enterprize.* For what enterprize? replied the Viceroy,—*for falling, like lightning, upon those Caravans that are marching at our elbows: Will you suffer those infidels to march off with so much money?* Since you have guessed, said the Viceroy, *for what I had sent for you, depart immediately, and set out to-morrow.* To night, replied the man, *and if I come at all, it will be with the money.* The Marhatta Escort of four-thousand men was already defeated and flying, before he had been joined by one-third of his two thousand Moguls, and he attacked it with only seventy men. It is remarkable that he measured eighty or ninety Cosses of ground from Feiz-abad to Saherferam, in thirty or forty hour's time.

him

him but some hundreds of men who had been his companions, who having personal obligations to him, went over to his camp: and it was with these few men he undertook to carry Fahr-eddö8lah to Gudjrat; he departed, accordingly; but his numbers were so small, that all his efforts proved abortive; nor did he gain Fahr-eddö8lah's heart, who was a man of courage, but of little understanding; the man, not pleased, retired to live in a corner; but being sick of a still life that did not agree with his temper, he returned to Nadyr-Shah's camp; and although he had every thing to fear from that Monarch's resentment, he presented himself before him with an undaunted countenance; that Prince, on casting his eyes upon him, recollected him at once, and said, "Since you fled from my resentment, why have you come back?"—"because," answered the man, "rather than to live amongst cowards, it is better to be killed by a brave man, like you: and now I bring you my head." Nadyr-Shah, pleased with his answer, gave him his pardon, and sent him upon a command in Pars (16), or in Herat. After Mahmed-yar-Qhan's departure, Fahr-eddö8lah was beaten by the Marhattas, and became their Prisoner; nor was it until after a deal of trouble and many sufferings, that he found his way again to Shah-djehan-abad, where he retired to his house.

At the end of this year, on the seventh of Zilhidja, there fell such violent rains, and these were mixed with so much hail, and so much lightning and thunder, that people were confounded and amazed; the lightning fell in the citadel, did a deal of damage in the public audience hall, killed two horses and two men, and stunned several others. On the 25th of the same month the Emperor was pleased to honour Sheh-saad-ollah's son, with a Qhilaat of mourning; and as, by that death the office of Divan of the musters became vacant, the Monarch bestowed it on Abdol-medjid-Qhan, the Cashmerian, who on that very day took possession of his office, by sitting in the cacherry or tribunal, and

(16) Pars, is the Persis of the Greeks; it is one of the six grand divisions, into which the Persians or Iranians parcel out their country.

signing some papers. This year, being the one thousand one hundred and fifty seventh of the Hedjrah, the nou-rooz, or new-year's day, fell on the sixth of Sefer (16): this year also Nizam-el-Mulk having besieged the fortrefs of Paleconda in the territory of Häiderabad, recovered that strong hold from the hands of Mucarbe-Qhan the Decanian. A great change happened this same year at court: as the Emperor was dissatisfied with the Toorianian Lords, at the head of whom were the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, and Nizam-el-mulk; and Saad-eddin-Qhan, as well as his son, Hafiz-eddin-Qhan, were known to be attached to them; the latter was dismissed from the command of the Imperial Artillery, an office of the utmost importance, and which gives a disposal of the Emperor's person and family; and at the same time the office of Mirateshy, or grand-master of the household, was, on Emir-Qhan's recommendation, bestowed on Abool-manfoor-Qhan; the Emperor at the same time passing a compliment upon the many services he had rendered the state, and expressing his hopes of his continuing to be equally vigilant and faithful. On this promotion Abool-manfoor-Qhan ordered the insignia of his office, such as the axes and other articles to be brought into his presence; and having issued some orders relative to his charge, he took from that day his residence in the Citadel; the next day he obtained, for my forgiven father, the Fodjdary of Sekendera, at a small distance from the capital, and he introduced him to the Emperor. On my father's paying his obeisance, he was honored with a Qhylaat which he put on immediately; and it was at the same time that myself, the poor man, was, with my younger brother, Naky-aly-Qhan, honored with military grades and the title of Qhan. We both remained some months at Court, in our father's service, after which we applied to Abool Manfoor-Qhan for leave to return to Azim-abad, a city where our family was established these many years; and where I had my glorious mother, my aunt, my uncle, and my brothers; a city where we had

(17) The solar year, amongst the Mussulmen begins on the 22d or third of March; but the beginning of their Lunar year wanders throughout all the seasons.

contracted connections and friendship, both with Zin-eddin-Ashmed-Qhan, Viceroy of the province, and with his uncle, Aly-verdy-Qhan. That general not only obtained our demand, but he dismissed us with every mark of honor and kindness, decorating both brothers with a Qhylaath and a Serpitch, and sending by our means his prayers to the Nazem of Azimabad (18), and some curious presents to the Viceroy of Bengal. We arrived at Azimabad the first of Zilcaadah of that same year with all our retinue without meeting any accident by the way. At the end of this same year Aya-mull, prime minister of the late Maharadja (19) Afiri-sing-Sevâi, having had the honor to be presented to the Emperor, received a Qhylaath of five-pieces; and on the fifteenth of the same month of the second Djemady, the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, who had been out of the city, and had got into a tent for the purpose of condoling with that prince on his father the late Maharadja's death, and also for bringing him with more honor to court, paid him a short visit; and on the evening of that same day, he received a respectful one from the Gentoo Prince. On the month of Redjeb of that same year, Homâi8n-Baqht, brother to the late Emperor Fero8-Syur, and son to Azim-ush-Shan, departed his life, and he was buried close to Qhoodjah-Cootoob-Eddin's monument. On the twenty-seventh of Shaaban the Fodjdary of G8aliar was taken from Qhyzyr-Qhan, and bestowed on Emir-Qhan; as was the Government of Cashmir, on Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, after it was taken from Affed-yar-Qhan, a simple man, on whom it had been bestowed by Emir-Qhan's recommendation. This Governor now lost his appointment on some bad offices which were rendered him by the same Emir-Qhan, and he was denied access to the Emperor's presence: at the same time both Emir-Qhan and Abool-Manfoor-Qhan were honoured by the Emperor

(18) The Nazem of Azimabad, although himself a governor of an important Province, being so very inferior to Abool-Manfoor Qhan, the latter sent him only his *Dua*, or prayers, it is the usual expression; *Salam*, is above it, as it signifies both *greeting*, and a *bow*: *Bendegbi*, signifies attachment and respect, and is the highest expression.

(19) This word of Maharadja, which signifies great king, in the antient Hindoo language, signifies now only a great Prince; and it is a title of honor which the Emperor used to bestow as a favor on the principal Hindoos of his empire, but which is bestowed now even by his Viceroys.

with

with each a rich belt. The latter, who was attached by his office to the Emperor's person, sent Neffar-Mahmed-Qhan, a relation of his, to take possession of that Government; and he gave him a strong body of both Hindostany and Mogul troops, with instructions to bring the refractory people of that country under some order. This nobleman being arrived in his Government, found means, by dint of promises and by a faint agreement, to engage one Baber-ollah, a man of consequence in that country, but equally powerful and refractory, to come to see him; but as soon as he had him in his power, he got him seized and confined: the new Governor after this manœuvre, spent some time in enjoying the pleasures afforded by that terrestrial Paradise, and then returned to Shah-Djehan-abad, after having placed, as Deputy-governor, a relation of Aboul-Manfoor-Qhan's, called Efrasiab-Qhan. On the seventeenth of the Ramazan of that same year, Azim-ollah-Qhan, who had been this long while kept confined in the Citadel of Shah-Djehan-abad, was released from his confinement by death; and he went to join his relations and those that resembled him in character; the next morning, his body having been brought to his house in the city, where the Vizir Cammer-eddin-Qhan, who was his near relation, had repaired, according to custom; the throng that accompanied that minister proved so very great, that the floor of the house, which happened to have a Tah-Qhana (20), and possibly was that moment under some secret influence, gave way, and the body, the Vizir, and all his people fell into the apartment underneath, but however without receiving any great hurt: the Vizir having escaped that danger, ordered the body to be buried close to the monument of Shah-Nizam-eddin. At the end of this same year about the last day of Zilcaadah, there happened to be an

(20) Tah-Qhana signifies *house of heat*: it is a subterraneous apartment always under the Ground-floor, and so contrived as to admit little light, and of course little heat. People resort to those places from noon, as far as the evening in the months of March, April, and May, at which time there blows a wind that seems to come out of an Oven. Some people have jets d'Eaux in those apartments, but all are besprinkled with water; there are no Tah-Qhana's in Bengal, (excepted at Patna), the country being too humid and too much infested with Snakes. The Author's superstition makes him mention the words of secret influence, as if the deceased had become the object of the divine malediction, for having by the Vizir's order attacked and slain Seif-Qhan; a Seyd,

unauspicious

unauspicious conjunction in the sign of *Libra*; it made its appearance again in the month of *Sefer* of the year 1158, and having appeared for the third time in *Virgo*, about the end of the second of *Reby*, it disappeared entirely. The last month of this same year, Sooltan-Eaz-eddin, son to Muëzz-eddin-Djehandar-Shah, departed his life.

Origin and
history of Rohi-
lah, the founder
of a colony of
Afghans.

AFTER having detained the reader's attention with these unimportant events, it is time to introduce to his knowledge a man who has founded a sovereignty very near the capital of the Empire; this man is Ali-Mahmed-Qhan-Rohilah. We have already mentioned several times in the former volumes the name of that extraordinary man, especially as having been so instrumental in Seif-Qhan's ruin and death: this man, originally a son of a Gentoo Ahir (21), and adopted by an Afghan of no higher pedigree than himself, had a fund of bravery and capacity, which rendered him worthy of command: he availed himself of the neglect and supineness so conspicuous in the Vizir Cammer-eddin-Qhan's character, to carry his point, and to establish his power firmly in his new dominions on the other side of the Ganga, which he peopled with a multitude of Afghans that flocked to him from all parts, and henceforward took his name. The means by which he raised himself to the pinnacle of fortune, are so extraordinary and so sudden, that it becomes necessary to give here a succinct account of them. He was at first a commander of a small body of Afghan cavalry, with which, having taken service with the two Governors of the province of Moordabad, he behaved on all occasions so well, and rendered so many services, that he became a favorite with them both, and acquired a character highly esteemed all over the country. This country, which was the Djaghir of the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, had been for a length of time governed by two Noblemen much in favor with that minister, namely Of-

(21) The Ahirs of Hindostan, called Goalas in Bengal, are a particular class that abstains from animal food, and have for occupation every thing that may be done in a dairy, (cheese excepted): they are also Shepherds, but only of cows, bulls, and buffaloes, but never of sheep, goats, or any other animal whatever. Nevertheless they neither make nor eat any Cheese; and by a Bizarery hardly to be believed, those men which put salt into milk-curd, turned sour, hold it a sin to put any into sweet milk.

met-ollah-Qhan, and Ferid-eddin-Qhan, who took a particular liking to Aaly-Mahmed-Rohilah: The latter had already acquired a high character for prowess and military conduct, by assisting so timely Azim-ollah-Qhan, in his engagement against Seif-Qhan; and as Azim-ollah-Qhan was so nearly related to the Vizir, that officer, by his means, became known to that Minister, who got him decorated with a title, and with a military grade: he procured him likewise the grant of some lands from the Emperor; and gave him from himself the command over some districts of his Djaghir of Moorad-abad. The man no sooner saw himself in some force and power, than availing himself of the Vizir's inattention, and of the effeminacy of the neighbouring Djaghir-holders, he found means to seize their lands, by way of taking a lease of them; and mean while Death having snatched Osmet-ollah-Qhan and Ferid-eddin-Qhan, those two brave governors, who had done so much honor to their age, Aaly-Mahmed-Qhan, who now passed for an Afghan to all intents and purposes, availed himself of that opportunity to engage in his service a number of Afghan officers and commanders, who resolved to share his good fortune: those men whom the severities of Nader-Shah had driven from their homes, and who were floating at random upon the Ocean of incertitude and despair, were glad to hear of a place of refuge and shelter, and they resorted in shoals to a man who had already acquired so much renown under the name of Rohilah, which was that of one of their clans. The man no sooner saw himself so strongly supported than he cast a piercing eye upon the state of things in Hindostan: The weakness of the Empire; the effeminacy of its generals and grandees, who all aspired to independence; and the inattention of the first minister, who, wholly engrossed by his pleasures as well as by court intrigues, spent his time in intemperance and in the company of the handsomest youths he could procure from all parts of the Empire: all these vices of administration could not escape the sight of so keen a man: he availed himself of so many favorable circumstances to build his own grandeur; and after having remained a long time crouching, he raised his head at once, and setting up

for himself, he became refractory, and neglected sending the usual remittances to the treasury. The Vizir, roused from his lethargy by so bold a step, sent for Radja-Harnund, a Roudja by clan, and having furnished him from his own stores with a sum of money, a train of artillery, and a quantity of rockets, he gave him the government of Moorad-abad, and the neighbouring countries, with orders to raise as many troops as he might think necessary, for subduing Rohilah, and with him all the refractory Zemindars of those parts. The Radja, having raised an army, marched with his troops and artillery to Moorad-abad; and, proud of his power and forces, he commenced issuing orders, and exacting submission. Rohilah, like a shrewd politician, kept an attentive eye upon him; and mean while he was sending respectful messages, by which he excused the imprudence of his conduct, and requested for the future some abatement in the high rents which had been heretofore expected from him. The Radja, elated with his dignity and the Vizir's support, would not hear of any abatement; he required an unconditional submission, and was intent only on picking up some quarrel with him, and tearing him by the roots. The man, seeing himself thus pressed hard, turned his eyes towards his Afghans, and having assembled the principal men amongst them, he made an exposition of the state of things, and asked them, what was their opinion, and what they intended to do? The Afghans, a race naturally brave and determined, who breathed nothing but conquests and new establishments, seeing the Radja bent on their destruction, advised Rohilah to stand upon his defence, and requested him to reckon upon their hearty assistance, and support. The man, satisfied to see them so resolute and unanimous, assembled them secretly in several bodies, and on an appointed day, he joined them himself, and effected a general junction; after which he marched against Harnund. The latter sensible now, that matters had grown serious, was already in readiness, and he advanced with intention to fight; nor were the two armies at a great distance; when the Hindoos, who not only are careful observers of the meteors and phenomena of the air, as well

Rohilah re-
volts.

well as of the motions of celestial bodies, but who trust so far to the conclusions they draw from them, as to think that they concern their happiness in this world as well as in the other; the Bahmins, I say, who abounded in the Radja's army, where they bore a sway, opposed themselves to his moving farther, and requested his waiting for the favourable moment; this request engaged him to raise an intrenchment round his encampment, which he lined with his artillery, in expectation that with soothing messages, and protracted negotiations, he would keep the Afghans at bay, until the favourable day should come. Rohilla fully informed of all this, as the two armies were so near, suffered himself to be apparently amused; and having spread a report that in the evening, he would pay his respects to the Radja, he fell that very night upon his camp, and threw every thing in confusion. It is observable that intelligence being brought the Radja that the Afghans were approaching in an hostile manner, the man who was then consulting his idols, answered, that this was not a fighting day for them, and went on with his devotions; mean while the Afghans entered the intrenchment, and commenced killing and sacking and plundering every thing in their way. In this confusion Motiram, a Hindoo commander, mounted his horse with a few of his men, and opposed the enemy; but he was cut down with his followers, and he hastened with them into the regions of eternity. Hernund, all this while was still in his oratory, and occupied at his devotions with which he went on; and without attempting to get up, or to interrupt his prayers, he suffered himself to be cut down by the astonished Afghans. Rohilah, having in this manner dispersed all that multitude in a little time, found his power established by a victory equally great and easy, and his force recruited by the addition of a treasure in money, and a great train of Artillery. But the minister was not roused by such an important stroke: like a man lost to all sense of honour, he was not ashamed to commence a negotiation with the rebels; and he chose for

Surprises Hernund in his camp.

that

that purpose his favourite wife Sholah-poori (21), and his youngest son, Muaien-eddöulah, better known under the name of Mir-mannoo. Aaly-mahmed-Qhan, hearing of her errand, and knowing that she was already crossing the Ganga in her boat, got himself into some boats that were at hand, and with a few friends only he crossed over, and paid the Begum and her son his respects and duty: after the first compliments, the dispute about rents and tribute was between them dispatched in a few moments. It is even said, that they concluded a match between the young Lord, and Rohilah's daughter, but we have never heard since that day, that the ceremony of marriage had been performed between the young people. Be it as it will, from that period Aly-mahmed-Qhan rose to figure amongst the Princes of Hindostan; and having in a little time assembled an army of forty-thousand determined Afghans, he stretched his dominion from near to near, and established his authority in Mooradabad, Berheily, Anöulah, Bedäon, Bun-gar, Sambal, and Amröah, as well as in some other places: henceforward he became so proud, as to make no account of the Court; and matters remained in that state until the time when Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, becoming grand-master of the Emperor's house-hold, incensed that Monarch against the insolence of Rohilah, and engaged him to exert the Imperial power in chastising and crushing the Afghans.

Rohilah becomes an independent Prince.

THE Emperor, sensible of the goodness of the advice, and that it arose from zeal for his honor, resolved to march against the Rebels; and on the twenty-fourth of Muharrem, he at day-break displayed the standard of departure, and went in the suburbs to the seat of Lö8ni, as if to change his ground. After a stay of twenty days he proceeded farther, and crossed the river Henidun, from whence he encamped at Dasna. From thence he dispatched Sadat-Qhan, maternal uncle to the Empress Maleka-Zemani, with a commission that gave him the Vice-royalty of the province of Dehli, as well as the command of both

(21) The title of Poori, attached to her name, renders it evident that she must have been originally a dance-woman, and an actress.

the capital and it's citadel. The Emperor at the same time made him a present of a sabre, and invested him in that new charge, by dressing him in a suit of new clothes, which had just served his Imperial person (22). The Qhan, having taken his leave, entered the city on the 23d of Sefer, and the next day he took possession of the citadel, whilst the Emperor, who continued his march, arrived at Sumbul on the first of the Reby; and on the twentieth, he encamped at Bedäon. this march struck Aaly-Mahmed-Qhan with dismay, who not thinking himself a match for an Imperial army, quitted the field and took shelter in the fortress of Bun-gur, which was immediately besieged; and whilst the troops waited only for the order to mount the breach, this Imperial army was reinforced by a body of troops, brought by Käim-Qhan, son and successor to Mahmed-Qhan Bangash, who having set out from Feroh-abad, his capital, was arrived in the Imperial camp, where he had the honor to pay his obeisance by the Vizir's mediation.— About the same time. Nevol-Räy, deputy to Abool-manfoor-Qhan in Aood, set out likewise for camp by his master's order, with a body of Veterans and a train of artillery. As this body of troops was yet on it's march on the other side of Bungur, which fortress remained betwixt them and the Imperial camp, it was feared lest the Afghan should avail himself of that opportunity to fall suddenly upon the reinforcement, and thereby to give a mortal blow to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, whom he considered as his personal enemy: and as on the other hand there subsisted a misunderstanding between Rohilah on one side and the Vizir on the other, which latter had taken umbrage at Abool-Manfoor Qhan's power, and would have been glad to see him undergo, both a loss and an affront; the Viceroy to parry such a disgrace, took the Emperor's leave, and having put himself at the head of his own troops, he marched out to meet his deputy, who was now drawing near; the

The Emperor
marches against
him.

(22) This is a very uncommon honor; it's importance may be guessed from this, that when two persons intend to be henceforward sworn brothers to each other, they actually exchange the turbans upon their heads.

Rohilah be-
sieged, surren-
ders.

The Empe-
ror returns.

junction being effected, that general returned with a deal of honor, and having marched throughout the whole length of the Vizir's encampment, he returned to his own former post. The next day he presented Nevol-Räy to the Emperor, and for his own honor engaged that Monarch to make him several presents. The Vizir mean while shocked at these distinctions, and intent on lessening the influence of both Emir-Qhan and of the Viceroy, was under hand encouraging Rohilah, to stand his ground, although he ought to have remembered that he was the very man from whom he had received so many affronts. This connection of interests could not long remain concealed from the two Lords, who finding the Vizir intent on assuming the honor of an accomodation, left the negociation intirely to him: and thus, on the third of the first Djemady, of the year 1158, the Vizir, who had undertaken to make Rohilah's peace, bound both his hands with a handkerchief, and in that condition, brought him to the Emperor. The monarch on casting his eyes upon him, ordered his hands to be set at liberty, and turning to the Vizir, he said, "*We recommend this man to your guard.*" People were dispatched at the same time to take possession of the effects in the fortrefs, where they found a great quantity of grain and some small cannon, but no ready money, and nothing precious: only a small sum, which Rohilah had deposited in the hands of Käim-Qhan, was declared by the latter, and sent to the Treasury. This affair being brought to an end, the Emperor's Pish-Qhana was on the fourth of that month, sent towards Shah-Djehan-abad; and himself, after dismissing Käim-Qhan and Nevol-Räy to their respective offices, returned victorious and satisfied; it was on the first of Djemady in the same year, at which time, the sun being then at the end of the sign of *Leo*, the Emperor made his entry in the citadal of his capital, and took his seat in the Imperial Palace.

At the end of Muharrem Nevazish-Aaly-Qhan departed his life, and was entombed in the monument of the holy step (23): a month after Esh-refi-

(23) There are in India numbers of monuments dedicated to the Holy-step, they being raised by pious persons at the very spot where they have seen the Prophet in their sleep, and where he has been pleased to leave

refi-Qhan, eldest son of the late Khandöuran, Lord of Lords, departed his life likewise, and was buried in his father's mausolæum. On the seventeenth of Sefer the new year's day was celebrated with the usual solemnities: and about the middle of the first Reby, Affed-yär-Qhan, the famous Poet, who bore the title of Affed-ed-dö8lah, departed this life; and his body was carried to Acbar-abad, the place of his nativity and residence, as well as that of his ancestors. He was a man equally sensible and good natured, of an equal temper, acquainted with the sciences, and inclined to utter extempore verses: he had been presented by Emir-Qhan to the Emperor in one and the same day with Djaaser-aaly-Qhan, (another famous nobleman of similar temper and talents and a great friend of my father's) and with Issac-Qhan; (since Mutemen-eddö8lah,) as well as a fourth person whose name I do not recollect at present. The two former were that same day promoted to the grade of five thousand horses; and the two latter, to that of four thousand. Djaaser-aly-Qhan, having personally attached himself to Emir-Qhan, did not rise higher; but Issac-Qhan's fortune was so rapid, that he rose to the third Heaven; and no favour ever equalled that which he enjoyed, as we have already mentioned. Affed-yär-Qhan rose very high likewise; he was honoured with the title of Affed-eddö8lah and the grade of six thousand horses, and he enjoyed the command of five thousand effective troopers in his brigade; moreover he was decorated with the insignia of the Mahi, or fish: Emir-Qhan who had taken umbrage at his behaviour on ac-

Death and
some account of
the famous Lord
and Poet, Affed-
Yär-Qhan.

leave an impression of his foot. As man is naturally an imitator, where he is not persecuted, we have seen whole sets of Gentoos Dance-women, who having found relief on invoking the Holy Step, went in procession to that monument, and danced for a whole day before it; nor will those women, tho' free to all at other times, suffer themselves to be touched by prophanes on such days, or even to be gazed at; they disappear immediately to come again when the croud is past: however there are other Cadem-Ressools, who have a different origin, namely, an imitation in marble or other materials of the impression which the Prophet left of his foot in a very hard stone, now in the temple of Medina; which impression might have been really left of that Holy-foot upon some soft clay, as he was standing upon it when intent upon some building of his at Medina. It is true it has not one of the spiral lineaments which the soft clay must have received in that case; but it is no less true that the Pilgrims, by endless kissing it and passing the palms of their hands upon it and then upon their faces for a course of time no less than twelve centuries, may have effaced the delineaments, and a great deal more; just as they have by the same practice bored a hole at the top of the Granite cavern of Herra, of three inches deep.

count

count of his not having attached himself personally to him, as Djaafer-al-Qhan, and many others had done, was bent on ruining his credit; and finding at his return from Ilah-abad, that he had recovered his former ascendant over the Emperor's mind, he rendered him so many ill offices, that his brigade of five thousand effective horses, was disbanded: an action that reflected a great odium upon Emir-Qhan's person. It is reported of Affed-yar-Qhan, that he kept no less than one hundred and forty chopdars, or mace bearers, divided in two companies, under two distinct officers, that did duty alternately at his gate, for the sole purpose of keeping it free from the noise and tumult so customary at the gates of men of distinction, and of men of no distinction; which however they could not compass: and he used to say that it was with a view to afford a livelihood to these people, and to avoid the imputation of sordidness. He was so good natured that on being visited by people of rank, greatly inferior to his own, he used to receive and treat them as his friends and equals. May God assign him a place in the mansions of his mercy! A few days after his death, intelligence came that Zekeriah-Qhan, Viceroy of Lahor and Mooltan, had departed this borrowed world, and had taken his journey towards eternity: a piece of intelligence which the Vizir, who was brother to the deceased's consort, kept secret, until he could dispatch Yahia-Qhan, the deceased's eldest son, who was also his son-in-law, to put in order his father's household and effects at Lahor; and also to sit in his stead. That minister on hearing that he was arrived, published Zekeriah-Qhan's death, and took mourning for him. The customary days of that rite being over, he went to court, and on that very day obtained a Qhylaath of departure for Gholam-Mahi-Eddin-Qhan, whom he invested with the commission of going to Lahor, and taking possession for the Imperial treasury of all the deceased's effects. A few days after the Vizir himself, being installed in the charge of Viceroy of Lahor and Mooltan, appointed Zekeriah-Qhan's two sons, to act in those two offices as his deputies; but the two brothers disagreeing together, and their disagreement ending in an open rupture;

Shah-

Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, the youngest brother, seized and confined Yahia-Qhan, his elder. However, the latter having found means, by his mother's contrivance, to get himself conveyed in a Qhoan (24), out of the house, quite thro' his guards, reached the City-gate, where, mounting an excellent horse, kept ready for him, he set out on a gallop, and was soon out of sight and out of his brother's reach. In a short time he arrived at Shah-Djehan-abad, where he had the meanness to put on brick-coloured cloathes, to cover his head with ashes, and, in a word, to turn Fakir: he built himself a tenement upon the canal, which he called Pim-bari; and as he was a Vizir's son-in-law, and was worth a great deal of money, he soon found followers and disciples, who imitated his garb, and lived in the same manner with him. After his departure, the younger brother remained in full possession of those two governments. Sometime after, that is on the sixteenth of Shaaban, Afed-Ollah-Qhan, elder brother to Emir Qhan, winged his flight towards the mansions of the divine mercy; and on the ninth of Shevval, a son was born to Ahmed Mirza, the presumptive heir of the Empire.

THE No8-r8z fell this year on the twenty-seventh of Sefer; a few days after arrived at Court, Ghoolam-Mahi-eddin-Qhan, who had been dispatched to confiscate the estate of the late Zekeriah-Qhan, in compliance with an infamous custom which has taken place in the Babrian branch of the family of Temoor (26). The deceased Viceroy's son put in his hands some of the most apparent effects, with a sum of

Infamous custom of the Emperor of Hindostan.

(24) Qhoans are tables of three feet in length, and two in breadth, railed in and covered with a Cupola of lattice-work, over which they throw a piece of broad cloth that shelters the whole. It is in these Qhoans that victuals are carried from the kitchen to the table, and also abroad, it being customary in Hindostan to send dressed victuals to friends and acquaintances. It is also in such machines that young imprudent men find means to get themselves conveyed into Seraglios, where they are immediately taken possession of by a number of young women, who have clubbed together for such operations, and who, after having thoroughly squeezed the orange in a few days, are for their own sakes obliged to throw the rind into a well; or it is thrown by the master of the house himself, who chuses that expedient to save his honor, whenever he comes to discover what has passed.

(26) Temoor, or more properly Timur, pronounced Tamer-lang or Tamer-lan, in Europe, had several sons; his posterity in the person of Soltan Babr returned to Hindostan and firmly settled itself there.

money, as the whole of the estate; nor was any thing more brought to the presence; nevertheless the commissary was rewarded for this expedition with a fringed paleky, and an augmentation of a thousand horses to his grade. A strange affair happened about this time:

BEHROZ-QHAN, one of the eunuchs of the presence, after performing his Friday devotions in the mosque, repaired to the house of a slave of his, who had been many days dead, with intention to carry away the deceased's wife, in order to make a present of her person to his own saint and director, who had chanced to see her and to fall in love with her charms. The widow refused, and declared that she had no inclination to marry a second time. This declaration having produced many intreaties, and much altercation, the pimping eunuch, who was resolved to gratify that infamous director of his at any rate, attempted to carry the woman away by force; at this moment her father made his appearance, and interposed, by intreaties and persuasions; but the Eunuch, proud of this station, and presuming on his power and influence, commenced talking so high, that the father, unable to bear his insolence and ill-language, and thinking likewise that his honor was concerned in protecting his daughter from so vile an attempt, struck the invader with his poniard and laid him sprawling on the ground; he struck likewise the eunuch's adopted son, who had followed his father within the inner apartments; but he was himself instantly dispatched by the attendants of that infamous wretch. The eunuch, being stretched at full length in his paleky, was carried to his lodgings, where in a little time he expired. He was buried in the dormitory of Qhoadja-Cootoob-Eddin:

"I should be glad to know whither those travellers intend to go?"

"Who have for a guide a man, that has himself lost his way, and is going astray."

THIS strange accident was followed by one full as strange: Hafyz-Vadjich-Qhan, an Eunuch, superintendant of the Imperial Kitchen, being at his prayers at day-break, fell suddenly into a swoon, and expired within an hour; it was in the second of Djemady; his office was given to his
adopted

adopted son. At the end of the month, the Emperor having set out to take an airing in the seats about the Capital, was pleased to entrust Mahmed Issack-Qhan with the guard of the Imperial person, an office become vacant by Behroz-Qhan's death; and that nobleman after making his bow in acknowledgement of the favor, was installed in his office by being presented with a belt; after which the Emperor on the fifth of Redjeb, returned to his blessed mansion, where an important event soon came to take place.

WE have already mentioned more than once the high degree of favor and authority to which Umdet-ul-Mulk-Emir-Qhan had risen by degrees: he had indeed such talents for business, and such fitness for command, that he was reputed superior in those respects to all the lords of the Court, as well as to all his cotemporaries; on his own part he had so high an opinion of his influence, that he made but little account of all the other ministers. It happened just at this time that the Vizir being in liquor and taking the fresh air upon the top of his Palace, staggered and fell down upon the ground, where he broke some of his bones, and otherwise received so much hurt, that he kept his bed for eight months together; and although he recovered his health, he continued to be so much bruised and hurt, that he seldom came to court, being unable to stand before the Emperor; and on the other hand, as he had but a slender opinion of the capacity of his sons, and did not think any of them worthy of being entrusted with the management of affairs, he requested Emir-Qhan to transact business in his stead with the Emperor, and then retired to his house to enjoy some rest; for he came to court very seldom, and sometimes but once a month; at which time, after having stood a few moments in the Imperial presence, he was always dismissed, or took his leave of himself. As to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, he was personally attached to Emir-Qhan, to whom he thought himself indebted for his fortune; and thus this Nobleman's influence and authority, having no one to contend with, became boundless and infinite: but he was naturally gay and lively; and being accustomed for some time to talk familiarly

Rise and disgrace of Emir-Qhan.

arly to the Emperor, he began to lay aside that tone of deference and air of respect, which ought never to be departed from in the presence of kings and sovereigns; for now being sole master of the court, with not one rival to envy, and not one competitor to contend with, he forgot himself so far, as to take unusual liberties with the Emperor, thinking that his advice ought always to preponderate, and that his requests ought always to be complied with. But the Emperor had another favourite, Mahmed-Iffac-Qhan, whom he raised so high, together with his brother, that they seemed so many Princes; although Emir-Qhan would make no account of them, as it was to him that their father owed their elevation. the Emperor, sensible of this, was desirous of strengthening Iffac-Qhan's interest; and it was with that view he concluded a match between Sudjah-eddö8lah-Djelaeddin-haider-Qhan, son to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan on one side, and Iffac-Qhan's sister on the other; and to engage Emir-Qhan's good will to the match, he declared himself the author of it, and appointed that Nobleman to act as his Deputy, and as Agent from the Lady, in making the necessary preparatives for the nuptials. Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, extremely pleased with the match, and desirous likewise of complimenting the Imperial pleasure, exerted himself in rendering the nuptials as pompous and as magnificent as possible: Amongst other articles which he sent, as usual, to the bride, as part of her future necessaries, people took notice of no less than a thousand and some hundreds of Vessels, (27) for water, all of silver, not one of which could weigh less than a hundred Rupees. After the celebration of the nuptials, Emir-Qhan thought proper to take his leave, and to repair to the castle of Selim-gur, where the Princes of the royal blood lived confined: to these he paid a visit; and by such a conduct he rendered himself suspected, and became obnoxious to many, especially to his jealous enemies. The Emperor himself conceived a disgust at such a step; his heart insensibly altered; and he came at last to take the man

(27) These Vessels being mostly for Female ablutions and bathings must have contained, most of them, several gallons of Water, and weighed a thousand Rupees each at least.

whom

whom he had once loved so much; but thinking it improper to shew his resentment, he went on with dissembling and with disguising his sentiments, until a crisis was occasioned by Emir-Qhan himself. One day, as he was actually speaking to the Emperor of some matters of state, he brought forward some representations likely to take up much time; the Emperor, tired, told him these words, "*Umdet-ul-Mulk-Bahadyr* (28), *Leave that for some other day.*" Emir-Qhan answered, that "*he had no more than a few words to say, and requested to be heard, as the subject was urging.*" The Emperor repeated what he had said; the minister insisted, and both the request and the excuse were repeated three several times, and three times did Emir-Qhan repeat his importunity, and be guilty of the same fault.—Unfortunately for him, there happened to be present an eunuch of the presence, whose character was as impatient and peevish, and as unaccountable and perverse, as any of that choleric tribe; and as he was an old slave of the Emperor's father and Grand-father, and had now, as superintendent of Imperial Seraglio, the disposal of several gates of the Palace, (an office of high trust) he was much in favour with that Monarch. Rooz-afzoon-Qhan, (for such was his name) impatient to see the minister's importunity, chanced to say, (but not so low however as not to be over-heard by Emir-Qhan) "*I suppose this to be such a high flavored story as admits of no delay, and must at any rate be repeated to-night to all the old women of the neighbourhood.*" The Minister, shocked, could not help saying, that "*it little became slaves to take such liberties, whilst Grandees of the Empire, and Ministers of State, were talking of matters of importance to their masters.*" The Eunuch, without being discomposed by this reprimand, sharply replied, "*that if they were slaves, they were so to none but the Emperor, and by no means to any others.*" On this, Emir-Qhan, addressing the Emperor, said, "*if this man continues in the superintendence of the Palace, your slave cannot come to Court any more.*" The Emperor, after having said some obliging things to the Minister, to appease his rising resentment, added: "*Do not be uneasy, Umdet-*

(28) This expression would answer to the English expression, My lord Duke, as it is not customary amongst the Princes of Hindostan to design their Servants and Grandees by any other appellation, than that of their title

ul-Mulk-Bahadyr; your interest is greater than his; and it shall be done as you wish." The Minister, after a pause, replied, "*if your Majesty really wishes to oblige the slave of your Imperial Throne, let the superintendence be bestowed upon me; and I shall appoint a proper person to execute that office, on my part.*" The Emperor agreed. The Minister getting up immediately to acknowledge the favor, made a profound bow, and departed. Being arrived at his home, he sent for Agah-Qhan, an old Eunuch of his own, who was superintendent of his hall of audience, and he promised to promote him to-morrow morning, to a high office in the Imperial Palace. But matters, mean-while, were taking a different turn in the Palace: On the Minister's departure, the Emperor complained of his importunity, and added, that "*he had been this long while tired of Emir-Qhan, and found it difficult to live with him; but now that he wants to get the disposal of most of the gates of the palace, added he, I suppose I shall be no better than his prisoner.*" The Eunuch answered, that if such was his Majesty's pleasure, it was an easy matter to provide for it. "*Do then,*" replied the Emperor, "*and make haste, for once he shall have taken possession of the superintendence, it will be then too late.*" The Eunuch, having got his cue, went out ruminating how he could find a man that would dispatch the minister: he spoke of it to one of his confidants; who answered that he knew a very fit man for the business, and that it was his own brother, who had been lately in Emir-Qhan's service, and having parted with him on the very worse terms, had said more than once in the agonies of his resentment, that he would some day or other take his life. The desperado being asked whether he would undertake to perform the work, answered in the affirmative, and was carried by his brother to the Eunuch, who on putting the question to him, was earnestly requested not to provide any other man for such a business, as he was determined to be revenged of the minister. The Eunuch seeing him resolute and eager, got him enlisted amongst the guards, and placed him in the inner apartments, where he informed him, that as soon as Emir-Qhan should get beyond the door of the private hall of audience, he must

must fall upon him directly. The wretch being shewn his post, went in, and placed himself in his ambuscade; the next day, being the twentieth of Zilhidge in the same year, Emir-Qhan came to court at day-break, although it was no court-day, and brought with him the Eunuch he wanted to entrust with the superintendence; he alighted from the paleky, and as soon as he had disengaged himself from the croud of his numerous attendants, and from the still more numerous throng of suitors, he advanced towards the hall, when the abominable murderer, without giving him time to advance above three steps within the door, rushed from behind, and gave him such a stroke in the breast with his poniard, that the unfortunate innocent Sëyed fell sprawling on the ground, and expired instantly. ^{Emir-Qhan murdered.} The guards took up his body, and stretching it in his paleky, sent it home, followed by a crowd of men who were going by order to take an account of his effects and to confiscate his property.

THIS was opposed by the military in the murdered minister's pay, who refused both to give them admittance (29), or to suffer the body to be buried, unless their arrears were first paid or insured. Not content with that, they shut up the gates, and would suffer no one to return home amongst those numerous noblemen that had come to console the family, and to purify and take up the body (30). In consequence of this, Haddy-aly-Qhan, elder brother to the deceased, and superintendant of the Elephant office, as well as Abdol-Medjid-Qhan, Divan of the Imperial Qhalissah, were shut up

(29) All the troops of Hindostan, the English excepted, are wretchedly payed: twenty or thirty months of Arrears are no rarity. The ministers, grantees and princes, always keep twice or thrice as many men as they have occasion for, and fancy to concern them in the conservation of their Lord's life by withholding their pay. It must be observed that any impotent debtor kept these many years out of his money by a powerful creditor assumes sometimes a right of stopping his corpse. This he does by putting his hand upon it, and pronouncing a sentence of the Coran; and in general the relations and invited make up the matter by an accommodation. We have seen this done once at Lucknow by a merchant, who stopped the coffin of Mia-Amber, an Eunuch of the Palace; and once at Mooshedabad. But such an attempt requires a resolute man; otherwise it will produce a good drubbing.

(30) It is customary for the nearest relations, or the best friends, to take up the Charpay or funeral bed upon their shoulders, and to carry it alternately, to the burying ground, repeating *there is no God, but God, and Mohammed is his messenger*. Some of the most Zealous put their hand to the spade, and all throw a handful of earth upon the tomb; the body is previously shaved, washed, purified, perfumed, and wrapped; and there are a hundred rites and niceties in performing all those duties.

within,

within, together with a multitude of persons of high distinction, amongst whom were Naamet-ollah-Qhan, and Bairam-Qhan, and many other noblemen of high pedigree, and of great rank. The Emperor, incensed at the opposition made by the soldiery, ordered the minister's effects to be taken possession of, without minding the pretensions of his troops or of his guards; and in case of resistance, he commanded that they should be put to the sword. But the Imperial soldiers themselves, sensible that it might be some day or other their own turn, refused to fall upon people that asked only for their due; and both parties being now come to a pause, Abool-Manfoor-Qhan interposed; he sent two persons of distinction to take in his name upon themselves the arrears due to the troops, and to render the last duties to the body of his murdered friend. By this time four days had been spent in messages and negociations; the body was become offensive; and the ungrateful Servants, together with the ungrateful Emperor, being obstinately bent in carrying their point, matters came at last to this settlement: that the body should be dismissed out of the house, and the deceased's effects sold publickly to as much amount as would discharge the sums due to his troops. These having kept as hostages both Sidy-Bilal (31), and Mezid-Qhan-Bahadyr, the two persons of distinction, that had been sent by Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, then only the body of that unjustly murdered minister was suffered to come out. He was entombed in the monument of Qhalil-ollah-Qhan, his grand-father, close to Rooh-ollah-Qhan's Sera,—may the God of infinite mercy have bestowed upon him a place amongst his pious ancestors! After the burial, the deceased's effects were put up to sale, and his troops and dependants received their arrears from the amount; the Emperor having taken for himself some of the deceased's

(31) By his name he appears to be an Habissinian, and all Habissinians are in the highest esteem in India. The Europeans, accustomed to see in America the human nature degraded, and to pass an indiscriminate condemnation on all Africans as a race morally and physically inferior to themselves, would be surprised to see what sort of men Africa can produce. No, Englishmen themselves, are not braver or more intrepid than the Nobis or Nubians; and no European can be more faithful and grateful than an Habissinian slave. We have had slaves of both races, and have been amazed to see their exertions all over Turkey, Arabia, and Persia. In India Negroes, Habissinians, Nobis, &c. &c. are promiscuously called Habashies or Habissians, although the two latter are no Negroes; and the Nobis and Habashes differ greatly from each other.

jewels and all his arms, the latter of which he so greatly admired as to pay ten or twelve lacs for them, which was more than their value; these two articles produced fifty or sixty lacs, and had cost a great deal more. It was only after the sale that the noblemen who had come only to condole with the family, and who had been involved in it's misfortunes so far as to remain besieged and confined for full eight days, found means at last to escape to their homes. Abdol-Medjid-Qhan, a minister of state, was of that number; but Haddy-ally-Qhan, the deceased's elder brother, with some other persons related to the family, could not obtain their release, even after the troops had been paid off, but by presenting the servants and dependants of the deceased, with full two year's pay as a gratuity. As to the house, and the patrimonial lands, together with the appendages of the murdered minister, they were presented by the Qhalif of the age (32), that is by the Emperor himself, to his own daughter; and that princess made them over to Mahmed-Iffac-Qhan's care. Let us now pass to some matters less melancholy.

THIS year the Nö8-r8z fell on the ninth of the first Reby, in 1160 of the Hedjrah; and this same year Yähia-Qhan, who on Abdol-Medjid-Qhan's dismissal had been promoted to the Divan-ship of the Qhaliffah-office, departed his life. The third day after his demise being elapsed, the Emperor sent for his six sons and one of his grandsons, and presented each of them with a Qhylaaf of mourning; after which of his own motion he promoted the eldest son, who appeared the most capable, to the office of Moonshy or Secretary of State, held by his father. A few days after, the office of the Qhaliffah was bestowed on Mahmed Iffac-Qhan, who was installed in it with a Serpah of six pieces; and that minister in a few days after took his

(32) The word Qhalif, signifies successor. It has been given to the first successors of Mahomet; namely to Aboobeker, Omer, Osman and Aly; and likewise to all the Emperors of the two Houses of Ommiah and Abbass. The Turkish Emperor styles himself a Qhalif, and so does the Emperor of Hindostan; and his two Capitals of Delly and Agrah are styled in his Coins and in his Ordinances, Qhalifat Residences, and also gates of the Qhalifat. The Author glances here at the hereditary aversion of all the Qhalifs against the Seyds, of which Emir-Qhan was one.

seat in his cuchery or tribunal, where he signed some papers as a mark of possession. On the middle of Shaaban, Agher-Qhan, the Turk, commandant of the Corz-bearers, dying (33), his son Chaghyr-Qhan (*a*) received, at one and the same time, a qhylaot of mourning, and his father's office. This year likewise ushered in an event quite unexpected: Nassyr-Qhan the famous Viceroy of Cabool, who had fled from the grasp of Ahmed-shah-Abdali, came suddenly to Shah-Djehan-abad, where he was honoured with a qhylaot of six pieces, a sabre, and an elephant; this was in hopes that, as Nadyr-Shah was no more, he might, by his connections with the Afghans of those parts, bring Cabool again under the dominions of Hindostan.

Death of Mah-
med-Shah.

History of Ah-
med-Shah-Ab-
dali, the found-
er of the new
monarchy of the
Doorannies.

THE year following, being the one thousand one hundred and sixty first, was remarkable by two considerable events, which changed intirely the face of the Empire: the one was the demise of Mahmed-shah who may be considered as the last Emperor of the house of Babr; the other, the irruption of Ahmed-shah-Abdali, the king of the Doorannies into Hindostan. As that Prince's invasion took place in the beginning of this year; and the battles which he gave, as well as the troubles and commotions which he caused, together with his return home, and the accession of Prince Ahmed to the throne of Hindostan, have taken up so much space of time, as to extend down to the first Djemady, we have thought proper to bring all those events into one point of view.

THIS Ahmed-shah-abdali was originally one of the principal chiefs of that tribe of Afghans settled in the province of Herat, under the name of Abdalies (34); his tribe having revolted against that conqueror of his age, the formidable Nadyr-shah, he fell prisoner in his hands, and was for some time one of the slaves of the presence; when that Prince chancing to take

(33) The Corz, or War Club, is a Turkish or Tartarian arm; and he that bears this Arm in the Emperor's presence, commands a body of Corz-berdars, or guards, with such a Weapon.

(a) It is very strange that these words signify in Turkish the crying Lord.

(34) Herat is a Capital City of Iran, or Persia, in the province of Qhorasan. It has been said, that the Afghans established there, were called Abdalies, or servants of Aly, because they had once embraced the Sect of the Shyias, although they are now zealous Sunnis.

notice of him, promoted him to a post of Yesäol (35), and in a little time raised him to the command of a thousand men; and here it must be observed that although Nadyr-shah was of one of the principal of those Turkish tribes settled in Iran, yet he had so effectually incurred the hatred of his tribe, and of the whole Turkish race (36), that being thoroughly sensible of its consequences, he had made it a point to attach to his person the several tribes of Afghans and Tooraniens, or Usbegs, which he had vanquished, conquered, and subdued; his army was mostly composed of those two nations: from them he drew most of his officers and generals; and he gave them so much influence and authority, that they seemed intirely to engross his attention and favour: the Afghans especially, to whom he seemed to trust still more than to the Turks of Tooran; and he raised them so high, that on his being killed, most of the principal Afghan commanders aspired to a sovereign power, and for a long term of years commanded as so many kings, in most of the provinces of Iran. the most powerful of them, was Azad-Qhan, who was at the head of thirty thousand horses; a man who had raised such a flame in Iran, as nothing could extinguish but the waves that plentifully flowed from Kerim-Qhan-Zendi's sabre (37): another adventurer like himself, who vanquished him in battle, took him prisoner, and then made him one of his generals. Ahmed-abdali was such another commander; but he had the wisdom to avail himself of the counsels and support of Taky-Qhan, Governor of Cabool, a man whom Nadyr-shah had castrated, and whom he nevertheless feared: this Ahmed-Abdali, in the confusion that ensued after Nadyr-shah's death, fled from camp and meeting in his flight a convoy of treasure which was going to the army, under the charge of Tahmasp-Djelaïr, he fell upon the escort, seized the money,

(35) The Yesaols answer to the Indian Chopdars, or Mace-bearers, but with this difference, that the Yesaols are armed.

(36) It is those Turkish tribes who spread chiefly in the northern parts of Iran, where they live under Tents, and are in general either Husbandmen or Shepherds, that furnish almost all the Soldiers of Persia.

(37) These excellent Sabres made in Persia are of a Steel that seems to run into waves.

and

and made use of it to attract so many Afghans to his service, that in a short time he became a potent prince, who struck money, and was prayed for publicly in the mosques. He made seven journeys or expeditions in Hindostan, all which shall be successively mentioned in these sheets. The first was at the end of the year 1150, being then in Nadyr-shah's victorious army, with which he likewise returned to Iran, the next year. As he had been bred by that Prince, much regard was always paid him; and the next year he obtained leave to go home, and see his friends. On his return to the army, he resolved to go in Pilgrimage to the monument, guarded by hosts of angels, the venerable Mausolæum of the Pontiff of men and spirits, Sooltan-Abool-Hassen-Aly, son to Moosa-Reza, (on whom be grace and endless praise!) (38). After having performed his devotions at that sacred shrine, he was going away, when he observed a Religious, sitting up close to the head of the miraculous tomb, a bit of cloth upon two sticks, as if it were a tent for small children. Ahmed could not help pausing a while, to ask him what he was playing about? The man, looking stedfastly in his face, answered: "*Art thou Ahmed-Abdaly?*" "*I am,*" said the other. "*This tent,*" replied the fakyr, "*is Nadyr-shah's imperial tent; whenever it comes to fall, thou shalt become a king.*" Ahmed, surpris'd at such a prediction left one of his attendants at the fakyr's, with orders to attend to the motion of the tent, and to take down the day and hour whenever it should fall; and he continued his journey to camp: he was hardly arrived, when Nadyr-shah was killed; and Ahmed, assembling those of his own Clan, fled

(38) This tomb is in the city of Toofs, which has from thence been called Mesh-hed. Those that are sticlors for miracles ought to go to that spacious mosque, where every year several miracles are performed, in so public, and notorious a manner, that there is no room left for a doubt. Blind, or lame men, or maimed, known for such amongst their own tribe, and throughout that populous city, recover their sight, or the use of their limbs; and as soon as the saint has granted such a request, the military musick seated at the top of the main-gate, plays the whole day to give public notice; so that imposition seems to be out of question here, and not so much as thought of; and yet imposition appears on the very face of every one of those miracles, as well as on the face of this very credulous tale; we have seen, at Mecca, two men that had recovered in Mesh-hed, the one the use of his eyes, shut up by small-pox; and the other the use of his leg; they had certificates better attested than any of those miracles so renowned in Europe; and for all that it was evident on the face of the certificates that the writers knew nothing of physicks, nor of truth; and that they were mere bunglers at miracle-making.

with

with them, and arrived at Mesh-hed, where his first care was to visit the holy monument, and the man stationed at the tent. The latter, looking at his paper, mentioned the day and hour, when it had tumbled down of itself. Ahmed, overjoyed at this intelligence, compared the dates, acknowledged the veracity of the prediction; and from that moment he commenced to aspire to a Throne. He joined to his own body of troops, as many Abdalis as he could persuade; and being now at the head of a considerable force, he engaged Taky-Qhan to join his party; this governor nick-named Capon, who was a man of consequence, that had rendered great services to Nadyr-Shah, by whose order he had been castrated, was then in that country; and by his counsels he proved of great service to Ahmed. The latter now put upon his turbant the Djica or Aigrette of sovereignty; and hearing that the tribute of Cabool and Mooltan was on its way to camp, under the guard of Mir-Mahmed-Säyd and Moor-Mahmed-Qhan Leti, two officers of character, he fell upon the escort, took the treasure, and engaged the two officers to join his party. Being thus reinforced by a good body of troops, and in possession of so much money, he marched against an Afghan who commanded in Candahar, and having killed him in battle, he took that fortress; from thence he engaged by dint of intreaties Shah-Sabur, the religious of the tent, to come into his camp and to follow his fortunes. This Saint-Patience, (for such is the import of his name) was a grand-son of the famous master Helal, the farrier of Cabool, who had likewise turned Fakyr, and was greatly revered by the Tooraniens (39). Ahmed-abdaly, after seizing the above treasure, offered the government of Cabool to Naffyr-Qhan, who had commanded there ever since Nadyr-Shah had confirmed him in that post; but it was on condition that on his arrival at that fortress, he could send to camp immediately the sum of five lacks. The condition being accepted, the governor received his Qhylaar, and he repaired to his post, where he

(39) The Euz-beg Tartars, as well as all the Tartars and Calmuks, are called Tooraniens or Tooraniens, in Hindostan.

assembled the principal inhabitants, to whom he exposed the Shah's demand. As that city is mostly inhabited by Afghans, a nation whose characteristic qualification is faithlessness and deceit, they all declared that it was impossible to raise any money amongst them. the Governor observed, that if they did not pay the money they would be called to an account, as well as himself, and what then do you intend to do, added he;—"We shall fight," answered the assembly. Nassyr-Qhan having expressed many doubts on this resolution of their's, they all joined in confirming their engagement by the most sacred oaths and the most solemn execrations. On which the Governor sent back the Doorrani's guards, which had come back with him from camp. Ahmed being informed of all this, ran to besiege the place; when the inhabitants, forgetting their late engagements, retired every one to their houses; and Nassyr-Qhan, not thinking it safe to tarry in the place, retired to Peshavor, after having fortified some strong passes; whilst the Caboolians, joining Ahmed, informed him of the manner of penetrating to that place: the Abdaly, on this intelligence, hastened to Peshavor; and Nassyr-Qhan, seeing his danger, said farewell to his family, and prepared himself for a vigorous defence.

WHILST Ahmed-abdaly was marching to besiege Peshavor, fortune was planning a new set of successes for that new Monarch: we have mentioned that on Zekaria-Qhan's demise, his second son, Shah-nevaz-Qhan, had seized the Government, and driven away his elder brother; he was now governing the two Provinces of Lahor and Mooltan, with nearly an absolute authority. He had, for his pay-master-general, one Adina-beg-Qhan, who was a very devil, under the appearance of a man. This man who had resolved to overthrow his master's power, and to raise his own on it's ruins, addressed him in these words "*You are no more than a nephew to Vizir Cammer-eddin-Qhan,*
but your elder brother, Yabiä-Qhan, is his Son-in-law besides; and he
is gone to carry complaints against you to court: Rest assured, then, that
neither Emperor nor Vizir shall let you alone in the full enjoyment of two
Governments. You have however one resource, and it is this: Join Ah-
med-

“ *med-Abdaly's party, a powerful and successful man, who openly aspires*
 “ *to a crown, and will look upon your joining his party as the most unex-*
 “ *pected favour which heaven could confer upon him.*” This speech had
 its full effect. Shah-Nevaz-Qhan acknowledged the goodness of the ad-
 vice, and opened a correspondence with the Abdaly. These two men soon
 came to an agreement; and it was concluded in these terms: *the Crown to*
Ahmed; the Vizirship, to Shah-Nevaz. The Abdaly had been so astonished
 at the proposal of making him a present of two such Provinces, that he had
 prostrated himself on the ground, and had acknowledged the divine inter-
 position on his undertaking. He immediately ordered the agreement to be
 drawn up, got it witnessed and guaranteed by the principal commanders
 of his army, and then sent it by a person of distinction.

THIS scheme having taken place, the incarnate devil set up another:
 he wrote to Cammer-eddin-Qhan, the Vizir, “ That his Nephew, had
 “ conceived chimerical schemes in his mind, affected independence, and
 “ had opened a channel of correspondence with Ahmed-Abdaly: that he
 “ was become so head-strong, as to make no account of the remonstrances
 “ of his best servants; but that they would not fail to make another effort
 “ upon him as soon as the minister should have endeavoured to sooth
 “ his mind, and to gain his heart.” The Vizir, astonished at the intelli-
 gence, took pen immediately, and with his own hand wrote a very affect-
 ing letter to his nephew. The purport was, “ That their family, at all times
 “ attached to the Emperors of Hindostan, had never been defiled by the
 “ crime of ingratitude and treason. Beware of such a crime: beware of
 “ thinking that a traitor can thrive. It is a pity that a man like you
 “ should wish for the honor of obeying Ahmed-Abdaly, the Yesaol, ra-
 “ ther than that of driving such a fellow from the frontiers of Hindostan;
 “ would not the five Provinces of Cabool, Cashmir, Tatta, Lahor, and
 “ Mootlan, fall into your hands, in such a case? and would not your
 “ good uncle exert himself in supporting you with all the power of the
 “ Empire

" Empire (40)?" This letter produced it's effect, and he was reclaimed from his folly; but Adina-beg-Qhan, who had put together all the parts of his scheme, resolved to avail himself of this rupture with Ahmed-Abdaly.

WE have left this Prince wondering at Nasser-Qhan's defection, and marching to besiege him in Peshavor. The latter, after having defended himself as long as his provisions and ammunition lasted, and his small numbers would admit, was thinking of escaping out of the town, and providing for his safety; but this was far from being easy. His deputy, who was equally brave and zealous, seeing his distress, addressed him in these words: "*Get out of this place, as well as you can; and fly towards Hindostan. I shall contrive to hold out one day and two nights more, by which time, you shall be too far off to be overtaken by any enemies.*" Nassyr-Qhan, having approved the advice, escaped out of the town with a few friends, and fled with all his might, but in distress of every thing. Mean while the deputy having held out as much as he promised, was slain at the second assault; and Ahmed-Abdaly got possession of the town, in which Nassyr-Qhan's family and consort came into the Victor's power. Ahmed, out of regard to her merit, and to her being daughter of Zir-dest Qhan, grandson to the famous Aly-Merdan-Qhan (41), not only took care of supporting her with decency and honor, but he in a little time set her at liberty.

WHILST that forlorn family was receiving so generous a treatment, Nassyr-Qhan arrived at Lahor, where he had taken his residence in a Mosque (42). But Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, no sooner heard of the arrival of such an illustrious fugitive, than he went to see him, and intreated him to join him in attacking the Abdaly. The other declined the proposal several times,

(40) It appears from this, that Ahmed-Abdaly had already taken possession of Cashmir, which is North of Cabool, as well as of Tatta, which is south of it; the two provinces of Mooltan and Lahor being betwixt. All those countries now, as well as Candahar, Herat, and all Qhorason, as far as Mash-hed, belong to the Abdaly or Doorani monarchy, as does part of Eusbeg-tartary.

(41) Aly-Merdan-Qhan, after revolting from the famous Shah-abbas of Persia, then occupied against the Turks, made a present of his person and of his fortress Candahar to Shah-Djehan, whose favorite he became. It is he that made that Canal of seventy-eight miles, which brings so much water to Dehli. It is now choaked up.

(42) As do all Fakys and all people in distress.

and

and declared his resolution of going to court; Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, finding he could not prevail upon him, took his leave, carrying with him that governor's steward. Being arrived at his palace, he desired him to accept in his master's name an equipage suitable to his rank and former station; and he immediately sent him all the elephants, horses, camels, arms, and furniture, necessary for a nobleman of high pedigree, without forgetting a kitchen, and a water equipage (43), with a number of cooks and a quantity of provisions. To this he added four lacs of rupees in gold, for his travelling charges.

THE Viceroy had hardly dismissed that illustrious fugitive, when he received a letter from the Abdali-king with an invitation to come over to his camp. The other refused flatly. The Abaly reminded him of his engagement; and Shah-Nevaz-Qhan answered only by letters that shewed how much his mind was altered. This being heard of by Shah-Sabur, who was become Ahmed's director and tutelar saint, and who now remembered of his being born at Lahor, and of his having lived a long time there; he took Ahmed's leave, and went alone to Lahor, where he landed in the Mufty-Abdollah's house. Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, hearing of that extraordinary man's arrival, sent Adina-beg-Qhan and his divan, Radja Kura-mull (44) to know his purpose;—the holy man answered: "*I have no business with any of you; nor do I intend you any harm. I come only because I cannot help remembering that I was born in this city, had connections with some of its Citizens, and am under obligations to some of its former rulers. I cannot help feeling for them all, therefore I tell you, faithlessness has never proved successfull; neither is it an object of approbation with either God or man; nor is your Sabre equal to Ahmed-Abdaly's sabre.*" He was yet speaking, when a voice from behind broke out in this exclamation: *Is his Sabre of iron, and our's of wood?*" No, replied the Fakir: "*Your Sabre, as well*

(43) As water is cooled in India by the assistance of Salt-petre, and people are so very nice in that element as to drink only of some Rivers, the article of water becomes an office by itself.

(44) The importance of these two personages shews what a high degree of respect is payed to Fakys, and especially to living saints in Hindostan.

"as his, is of iron, but your fortune is not equal to his. His star is now in its ascension, and I do not see that your's keeps pace with it."

ADINA-BEG-QHAN who carried this message to his Master, seemed to be affected by it; nor was Shah-Nevaz-Qhan himself without some emotion. But however, no peace took place; and he ordered the fakyr to be kept in custody in Adina-Beg-Qhan's palace. Ahmed finding that nothing was to be gained by letters, marched to Lahor, from whence Shah-Nevaz-Qhan came out with a numerous army, well furnished with artillery and every other necessary; and both sides seemed eager to engage: when the Viceroy sent to ask from a fakyr, who meddled with astrology, what he thought would be the fate of the day? Shah-Kelb-Ally (for such was the man's name) (45) answered: "*This day is not favorable to you. If you can help it, abstain from fighting to day. The day of to-morrow with the following days, will be more favorable to your cause. Beware of engaging to-day.*" The Viceroy on this answer, sent orders to his commanders, not to fight to day, but to keep themselves within their retrenchment, even should they be attacked; in which case, they were only to repel the enemy. This said, he went to his tent, and took some repose, until supper time came; and he was already seated with Adina-beg-Qhan and some other commanders, when they heard the report of a great gun, and then another. Upon enquiry it was found that a body of the enemy's horses having made its appearance, two hundred Kuzzelbashies on horseback had quitted the intrenchment to fight them; and that the enemy had retired; but had come again to the number of about two thousand, which large body had dispersed on some canon being fired at them. Some time after a swift horseman came to the Viceroy to desire immediate assistance: he said, that his Cuzzelbashies having sallied forth a second time, had been worsted, and obliged to retreat within the enclosure; and as they came pellmell with the enemy,

(45) These words signify, *Saint Dog of Aly*. The Persians, who think all Dogs impure, make however an exception in favor of Aly's Dog; and they are fond of hearing his name, which was *Camber*. Nay they assign him a place in Paradise.

the artillery had therefore forborn firing; in consequence of which the Abdalies had penetrated within the camp, and were filling it with slaughter and confusion. On hearing this Shah-Nevaz-Qhan was going to mount, and he immediately sent Adina-beg-Qhan to the assistance of those attacked, with orders to drive the Abdalis out of the intrenchment only. This officer, having put his hand upon his eyes in token of obedience, marched with his troops, but he took to the left, and contented himself with being a spectator of the engagement. By this time the Viceroy was upon his elephant; and whilst he was encouraging his men, Adina-beg-Qhan advanced a little farther, but stopped short again. Luckily it was already dark, and the Abdalies had retired of their own accord. But Adina-beg-Qhan, having already retired with his troops within the city, even so early as the evening, a panic had seized most of those that remained, and every one strove to save himself within the walls, without minding their officers. The Viceroy confounded at this reverse, returned to his quarters, where he wanted to alight in his tent. This was strongly opposed by a relation of his, who sat behind him, and objected that there was no safety left in camp; and that it was better to retire within the walls, and to fight the enemy from behind that cover. This the Viceroy admitted, but he proposed to take such a party only to-morrow, adding that this was an unfavorable day for him, and that to-morrow all would be well again. The other continuing to object, the Viceroy gave way; but as soon as he had turned the head of his elephant towards the city, such as had remained yet in camp, took example from him, and fled on all sides, making haste to get at the gate; at this moment, a body of faithless Tooranians in his service, who had preserved their presence of mind, availing themselves of the general panick, fell at once upon the run-aways, and commenced killing and stripping and plundering; not content with that, they advanced to the head-quarters, where they plundered the Governor's tents and equipage, whilst he was yet in fight. The Viceroy amazed at this sudden revolution, alighted at his Palace, where
some

some of his commanders arrived at the same time, proposing terms of accommodation. The Pay-master-general, Adina-Beg-Qhan, arrived also: the Viceroy bid him bring the Fakir. The Pay-master answered that in the confusion they had killed him; killed him! said the Viceroy, incensed, and seizing one of the marble knobs that kept the Carpets fixed to the ground, he struck the Pay-master in the breast, exclaiming at the same time, that after such an action they could not even shew their faces. Finding that matters were past all remedy, he distributed to a number of trusty servants a quantity of bags of gold, and putting some Caskets full of Jewels of high value in the hands of some eunuchs attached to his person, he quitted the city, and fled; and thus the army without being beaten, left the victory to the enemy. The next morning, the Abdalies entered the city without the least opposition, and fell a plundering so leisurely, that nothing could escape their hands. Adina-beg-Qhan had had the precaution to get early out of the place, with his troops and all his fortune, and to take to a precipitate flight. Mean while the Viceroy, after being overtaken by his Tooranians, who offered him all kinds of insults and ill usage, met the Vizir upon the road, who dismissed him to the capital.

The Abdaly Prince, having in this easy manner gained a great victory and conquered two provinces, turned his views upon the very Capital of Hindostan. He had, in his campaign with Nadyr Shah, fully observed the weakness of the Empire, the imbecility of the Emperor, the inattention of his ministers, and that spirit of independence which had crept among the grandees:—being now unexpectedly so far advanced, he concluded that the expedition he had determined on within himself would not prove a very difficult task. Full of these hopes, he commenced his march from Lahor, carrying with him Mahmed-Taky-Qhan, the Capon, who served both as his chief counsellor and as his generallissimo. Mahmed-Shah informed of this, resolved to oppose him; and he sent his son Ahmed-Shah at the head of a numerous army, commanded by the Vizir and the principal grandees of the Empire, such as Abool-Manfoor-Khan, Radja-Afiri-Sing-

Sing-Sevâi, son to Radja Djehi-Sing, and some other Radjas of the province of Adjmir, whether of the Rhator family or others: all of which commanded troops of their own tribes. It was in the year 1161 of the Hedjrah. The principal nobility of Hindostan were in that army; such as Zolficar-Djung, Shir-Djung, and Muäien-el-Mulk, all three sons to the Vizir. The Vizir, in receiving his audience of leave from the Emperor, was particularly distinguished by that Prince, who taking from his own turban a fateh-pitch (46), and a nosegay of beaten gold, put them with his own hand on the Vizir's head, and dismissed him with exhortations to fight the enemies of his crown valiantly. A fateh-pitch was likewise presented to every one of the other lords and generals. Zolficar-Djung, elder son to the Vizir, was honoured with the office of Third Paymaster-general, an office vacant since Emir-Qhan's death; and he was moreover entrusted with the care of the Imperial Prince's person, over whom he was to watch as his tutor: by this promotion the office of Fourth Paymaster became vacant, which was bestowed on Mahmed Issac-Qhan. After these promotions the Imperial Prince marched at the head of his numerous army to Ser-hend, and advanced as far as the river Sutuludj; where he encamped on the ford. The Abdaly monarch, without minding the ford, marched above it by Lod-hiana, and arrived within Ser-hend: his army, by authentic accounts, not amounting to more than sixty-seven thousand horses. It was the thirteenth of the first Reby, in the year 1161. The town of Ser-hend was plundered and sacked, and every one found in arms was put to the sword. On this, the Shah Zadah marched to the enemy, but on approaching a little nearer, that Prince, according to that riveted custom of the Hindoos, who never think themselves a match for an army of foreigners, stopped short, and surrounded his army with an intrenchment and a ditch, within which he kept himself; and from the fifteenth of the first Reby until the twenty-sixth, nothing was to be

(46) Fateh-pitch signifies a circlet of victory; it ought to be of steel, or of mails of iron, and common men wear it so of late, that is these fifty years, when the dress has undergone considerable changes, and is become very military; it is now turned into an ornament, and is a quilted piece of jewells or embroidery, ten fingers broad in the middle, and six or seven at the ends. It is fastened from behind upon the turban, and comes upon it as far as above the ears, where it is made fast.

seen but continual attacks and skirmishes, with great slaughter on both sides. The Abdaly had no artillery, but Fortune brought him a convoy of provisions, canon, rockets, and ammunition, which fell into his hands: he availed himself of this assistance to pour in a shower of balls within the intrenchment; insomuch that the Hindostany army, although very numerous, seemed to be besieged by the Abdalies and Kuzzelbashes. The seventh day of this singular Siege, it happened that the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, being about noon-day at his prayers (47), a canon ball came and killed him on the spot. This accident discouraged the Hindoos who were in camp, to the number of twenty or thirty thousand, under the command of Afiri-Sing, and some other Radjahs. With one common accord they despaired of the cause, and coming out of camp, they stretched the feet of trepidation on the boundless plain of despondency; and marched back to their homes. But this desertion, considerable and discouraging as it was, did not damp the courage of either the Shah-Zadah's, or of Abool-Manfoor-Qhan's, or of Müaien-el-Mulk's, or of the other sons of the late Vizir's. They fought the enemy several times with an undaunted courage, and always with much slaughter on both sides; until the morning of the twenty-sixth, when the Abdaly king, putting himself at the head of his troops, gave an assault to the Vizir's quarter, but was vigorously repulsed by Müaien-el-Mulk, alias Mir-mannoo, the Vizir's eldest son, who acquired a great deal of honor in that trying occasion. A body of Toorani-ans commanded by Djanish-Qhan, and some other officers, mindful of the many obligations which their nation owed to that family, fought with great vigour, and chearfully shed their blood in their defence; and vast numbers of the Vizir's troops became that day so much food to the scimitar, that devouring crocodile of the seas of slaughter and blood. The enemies pushing forwards penetrated to the very quarter of the Shah-zadah's, and a mighty loss, together with a great disgrace, was going to befall the Hindostanies, when they were timely assisted by a body of troops in good

(47) The Musulmen pray five times a day: the noon-prayer is the longest.

order sent by Abool-Manfoor-Qhan: that general ordered the remainder of his horses, mostly Moguls, to alight; and putting himself at their head, he marched fiercely to the enemy, preceded by some small canon, and a number of men, armed with rockets and wall-pieces; he came in a very critical moment, and putting himself between Mir-mannoo and the Abdalies, he brought the latter to a stand; and here the engagement, taking a new vigor, became warm and bloody; the enemy already fatigued by the resistance made by the Shah-zadah and Mir-manno, found themselves at once assaulted by a body of fresh troops, who marched in good order, and were pouring a storm of musket-bullets, canon-balls, and rockets, upon them. At this critical moment, some of the ammunition and rocket-carts seized at Ser-hend, by some accident took fire; in an instant thousands and ten thousands of rockets and other artifices were at once in a blaze; and these flying in all directions throughout the Abdaly's army, destroyed most of the enemy's troops by heaps (48); the rest fell into disorder and confusion; and Ahmed, after having made repeated efforts to remedy the accident, and to rally his dismayed troops, reluctantly turned his back to the field of battle, and fled where his bad fortune pointed, leaving the victory to the Hindostany Prince, and the greatest part of his army on that field of slaughter. He had sent in the evening a message to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, the purport of which I could not learn; but the next morning he beat the General at day-break, and marched back by the high road that leads to Cabool and Candahar.

MAHMED-SHAH on being informed of so signal a victory, and how instrumental the Vizir's three sons had been in it, especially the eldest; as well as how timely and vigorously they had been succoured by Abool-Manfoor-Qhan's critical interposition; could not help giving way to his joy and satisfaction: although he was then upon his death-bed. He himself read the relation, and immediately bestowed the governments of Lahor and

(48) It appears by the constant testimony of two officers now in Moorshoodabad, but who commanded amongst the Moguls of Abool-Manfoor-Qhan's, that they took one part of the Abdaly artillery, and that the fire took only on the other part.

Mooltan on Mir-Mannoo, and at the same time he wrote pressing letters to his son, to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, and to the other Lords, with orders to repair immediately to Court. With these letters came a Qhilaat with which the Imperial Prince himself invested Mir-Mannoo in the name of the Emperor his father; giving him order at the same time to take possession of the two governments conferred upon him. The Prince after this ceremony set out for the capital without loss of time, as the Emperor was growing worse and worse; and signs of an approaching gangrene were making their appearance: the Monarch beheld death advancing step after step, and letters after letters arrived daily demanding both his son and Abool-Manfoor-Qhan; nor did these two noble persons give themselves any rest; they were already arrived at Pani-Poot (49), in the neighbourhood of the capital, when intelligence came that the Emperor was no more. He died the twenty-seventh of the second Reby, in the beginning of the thirty-first year of his reign, which answers to the year 1161 of the Hedjrah. But in consequence of a consultation between Issac-Qhan and Djavid-Qhan the eunuch, and some other lords, to which the Empress Maleka Zemani gave her consent, his death was kept secret; so that his body, remaining some days above ground, became offensive, as had already happened to Emir-Qhan's body, as if to prove that holy sentence of the Coran, "*So hast thou done, so shalt thou find.*" Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, being repeatedly informed of all this, passed secretly with the Shah-zadah three days in mourning; and the fourth day he made choice of a favourable moment to erect a canopy, and to whirl several times round and over the Prince's head a chatry or umbrella, which he had run up in haste for the occasion; after which he presented his nuzur by way of making his homage, prayed for his prosperity, and wished him a long reign (50). The new Emperor after

(49) Pani-poot is a town three days journey from the Capital, and upon the Canal that carries so much water to that City; nay this very circumstance has given name to the town, for *Pani-poot* signifies derivated water, or water's Offspring.

(50) An instrument to keep off the sun and rain has been always held as one of the principal insignia of sovereignty in Hindostan; it is made like a French Parasol, and a Chinese umbrella; and the Taht-taoofs, or Peacock-throne, made by Shah Djehan, had such an appendage, as have all thrones of an Emperor; but the whirling it round a few times over his head, in token of sovereignty, is a curious anecdote to be found nowhere else.

this ceremony, marched to the capital with great pomp and magnificence. Being arrived at Shaleh-mar, an Imperial seat in the neighbourhood of the capital, he received the applause and respects of all the ministers of state and all the grandees of the empire, who proclaimed him with a common voice. After this ceremony, the body of Mahmed-shah was brought out of the Haram-fera, or sanctuary, and in the middle of a pompous cortege was carried upon the shoulders of all the grandees, to the monument of Shah-Nizam-Eddin, where it was buried in a Mausoleum, close to that which the Prince's mother had erected for herself in her life time. The new Emperor, on the seventh of Djemady, made his entry into the capital, mounted upon a moving-throne; and from thence, he went to reside in the citadel: Five days after, it being on a Friday, he repaired to the great Mosque, where having heard the Qhootbah pronounced in his name with other applications usual on such a solemnity, he returned to his Palace. In this same month both Moorteza-Qhan and Moorid-Qhan departed their lives,

As to myself, I was about this time in great perturbation of mind, having just lost Zin-eddin-ahmed-Qhan, my patron, who had been murdered by the treachery of Shimshir-Qhan; an afflicting event, which I learned at Gazipoor, and which made me retreat to Benares, from whence I went to Berhaily, which was my forgiven father's residence: that city is the capital of the countries of Bedaön, and Shah-Djehan-poor, &c. which constituted Nizam-el-Mulk's Djaghir, and had been put by Ghazy-eddin-Qhan, his son, under the command of my father: It was at his feet I lived sometime, when a terrible event happened there, from the consequence of which I escaped with difficulty, as I shall mention in the subsequent pages.

The author
quits his History
to speak of him-
self.

My forgiven father had been, as I have said, promoted by Abool-Manfoor-Qhan's influence to the government of Sekenderah, when, taking my leave of that general, I repaired to Azimabad, where I paid my respects to my glorious mother, and visited my uncles and my other relations, most

of whom were allied either to Aly-verdy-Qhan himself, or to his nephews; there also I took a spouse in the family, which my mother had appointed: from thence I followed my uncles to the wars; and in the engagements against Mustapha-Qhan, I rendered such whatever services as could be expected from me. But a rupture soon took place between Abool-Manfoor-Qhan and my father, after the latter had remained one year in Sekenderah; and about the same time the countries of Moorad-abad, Sambal, and Berhaily, having being recovered from the hands of the Rohilahs by Mahmed-Shah in person, who thought proper to return those lands and districts to those to whom they had belonged before, either as altumghas or djaghirs; my father was a second time sent to command in those parts with full powers. The city of Berhaily with the circumjacent country was a paternal djaghir of Nizam-el-Mulk's; and as in consequence of the power and usurpations of Aly-Mahmed-Qhan-Rohilah, those parts had become of small revenue, no person caring to expose his purse and honor on their product, the whole had been committed to the care of my forgiven father, who found much difficulty in quieting his government: for although Rohilah himself had been driven away and was gone to Ser-hend, there were thousands and ten thousands of Afghans spread all over the country, where they had taken so deep root, that they had become the Zemindars of that tract, and had to their own Afghan stubbornness added all the perverseness and all the refractory behaviour inherent to the character of a Zemindar: so that, none but my father was thought equal to the task of bringing them to order and submission. Ghazy-eddin-Qhan therefore, having sent his own steward thither for a while, recalled my father; and after conferring with him some time, and furnishing him with every necessary, and with full powers, he sent him back with instructions. My forgiven father thus supported, raised a good body of troops, and marching throughout the country, he soon brought the city of Berhaily and the seventeen other districts under order and controul: for a further security, he thought it a piece of policy to admit the principal Afghans amongst his troops;

troops; and thus Serdar-Qhan of Berhaily, and Mangal-Qhan of Telhur, took service with him, each at the head of about two thousand men; as did another Afghan of illustrious race with seventeen hundred others. This last was called Pir-ahmed, and was a descendant of Sheh-abdol-cadyr-Ghilanii, the great saint of the Afghan nation.

BUT these were not all the turbulent spirits of that country: there lived then in those parts a man of great character and distinction, a descendent of Uzmet-ollah-Qhan, one of the two brothers who had so long commanded in Mooradabad; it was Cootoob-eddin-Mohammed-Qhan-Bahadyr, who was nephew to Ferid-eddin-Qhan, a nobleman in whose service Aly-Mahmed-Qhan-Rohilah had been for a length of time: he lived in the castle of Cha-chutt, and seemed inclined to quarrel with my father; but he had but a small force, and still less money. My father sent him several mild rebukes on his improper behaviour; but all to so little purpose, that he was at last obliged to think of correction and chastisement. Cootoob eddin's troops seeing that he had brought the governor of the country upon himself, deserted him immediately, and there remained to him only twenty or thirty ancient friends and servants who would not leave him, but chose to shut themselves up with him in the above castle. My father hearing of this, surrounded it immediately, and went several times round the walls on his elephant, to find out a proper place for an assault. It must be observed that Cootoob-eddin-Qhan greatly valued himself upon his skill in shooting with a musquet; and in fact he was renowned all over the country for making use of balls and musquets of twice the size and length of the ordinary ones; and he fired with so much precision, that he never missed his mark: several of his followers were equal to him in that art. Now as my father was going every day round the walls, both himself and his best marks-men repeatedly took aim, and repeatedly fired at him, without being able to hit any thing but the boards of his hemhary, or his cushions, or his clothes and turbant. Cootoob-eddin-Qhan incensed at his eternally missing his enemy, threw down his gun, swore he would never fire
again

Troubles in
Rohil-cund.

again, and sent to my father to desire a conference and an accommodation. This interview was requested with a design to kill my father in the middle of the conference, the man being of such a determined daringness that he never stuck at any thing to compass his own ends. His few followers, being as daring as himself, resolved to stand by him in that trying occasion: But as they pretended fears and suspicions, it was agreed that they should come armed, and the agreement was guaranteed by Sëyd-Aly-Qhan, my father's fourth brother, and by Pir-ahmed, the Rohilah commander. On the appointed day, they came out of the castle, and were received by my uncle in his tent, in expectation of being sent for by my father. But that nobleman unwilling to meet so hastily a party of of desperadoes, whom he knew to be highly incensed against him, returned for answer, that he hoped they would repose themselves the remainder of the day in his brother's tent, as his guests; and that the next morning he would give them the meeting. The man hearing such an answer, suspected some treachery; and although he with his ten or twelve men was sitting amongst a multitude of armed Afghans, and close to my uncle and Pir-Ahmed, he expressed his resentment without minding his situation, and said that they ought, with their beards as men, to wear long hair upon their heads, as women: Openly reproaching them at the same time with their faithlessness in bringing him in such a deceitful manner out of the castle. My uncle and Pir-Ahmed, without minding his air and tone of voice, represented mildly that no breach of faith would happen, and that no harm was intended to him; but that the governor being eternally busy, might have particular reasons for his putting off the interview till to-morrow, and that mean while there was no harm at all in his requesting him to be his guest. That officer was yet speaking, when several sneakers of a cool lemonade were brought in; and a moment after these were followed by a number of tables, covered with a variety of costly and dainty victuals, to which was added a message from my father, requesting his guest to partake of such an entertainment as his camp afforded, and to take some repose
until

until the next morning. The man, who had been both hungry and angry all this while, finding himself so gently used, dropped his resentment, and fell to eating so heartily, that at the end of his meal he had commenced speaking in a friendly manner. After his dinner, some presents were sent him, which he accepted. Cootoob-eddin-Qhan, seeing that no harm could be intended, altered his resolution within his heart, and became reconciled to my father. The next morning, the Derbar being full, the new guest was conducted to the audience-tent between my uncle and Pir-ahmed, followed by a numerous throng of Afghan officers. My father on descrying him got up, and having embraced him, made him sit with himself upon the same mesned: and he received his friends as they approached one by one, in the manner which his guest seemed to wish. Cootoob-eddin overcome by so much kindness and so unexpected a condescension, could not help exposing the intention with which he had originally come out of the castle; and he added that the sudden change wrought in his heart yesterday, together with his missing perpetually his aim,—he who had never lost a bullet!—were events which he could ascribe to nothing but to some sacredness inherent in his person, and doubtless derived to him from his Sëyd ancestors. My father hearing this, could not help laughing; and he continued speaking to the man with so much regard and favor, that he made a conquest of his heart; after which he proposed to him to take service in his troops, and to attach himself to his person as a friend and a companion. Cootoob-eddin, after stipulating some conditions, accepted the proffer; and thus enmity and diffidence ended in friendship and confidence.

So much sudden favor, and such marks of distinction, excited sentiments of envy and discontent in Pir-ahmed, a principal commander amongst the Afghans, who thought he had more right to them himself; his mind was so ulcerated, that every fresh kindness shewn to the new guest seemed to thrust thorns and scorpion-stings in his heart, which otherwise was disinclined on account of the difference of sect between himself and his master;

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the latter being a zealous Shyah, and the other a turbulent Sunni: Whereas Cootoob-eddin, as well as his friend Sheh-Müez-eddin-Qhan, (an officer now living at Lucknow, and whose feats of valor and generosity we shall have occasion to mention) were of a race celebrated for their zealous attachments to the tenets of the Shyahs, as well as for their illustrious achievements, and for their being descended of persons attached to the service of the holy house (51); (upon all whom be grace). He was himself respected by the country-men as their lord and their master's son; and it was on that very account that my father had introduced him in all the affairs of administration. This alienated entirely Pir-ahmed's heart; he quitted the service, and fought a revenge in exciting troubles; and as the Afghans in my father's service, as well as those all over the country, were all either his tenants, or men accustomed to serve under him, they made it a point to join him and to obey his summonses; and the evil rose to such a height, that my father was obliged to march against him, and to bring him to order. Cootoob-eddin, who was appointed his general, took the command of the Vanguard. An engagement ensued, when Pir-ahmed dividing his troops in two, opposed his bravest and best marksman to Cootoob-Eddin, and with the rest he concealed himself in the ruined houses of an abandoned village, and in some fields grown over with tall sugar-canes, expecting to have my father at his discretion from such an ambuscade. The engagement being already commenced, Cootoob-Eddin with his bravest men, taking his musquet, and quitting his horse, rushed thro' the thickest of the enemy, bearing down every thing before him. They say that whilst he was taking aim with his gun, a trooper of the enemy's sprung at his side, and crying "*Cootoob-eddin-Mahmed-Qhan, have at you,*" he advanced with his sabre up-lifted, Cootoob-eddin altering only the direction of his piece, answered, "*have at you yourself,*" and laid him sprawling on the ground. That brave troop of his, animated by such exertions, continued to advance thro' the enemy's ranks,

(51) It appears that the Shyahs by the words *Holy-house*, understand the temple that contains the remains of Hussein at Kerbelah near Bagdad; whereas with the generality of Musulmen the words *holy-house*, or those of house of God, signify always the Caaba or square house within the temple of Mecca.

which

which at last they broke entirely, and forced to an open flight; but by this time he had already advanced so far from his main, as to be within reach of that piece of sugar-cane where Pir-Ahmed was waiting for my father; and the latter approaching on the opposite side, he was set upon with the utmost fury, by a body of horses that rushed out suddenly, put to flight most of those that were with him, and struck a panic in those that remained. In this state of things, my father was putting his foot out of the amhary to jump down from his elephant, and to fight on foot; when the son of Cootoob-Eddin, a young man whom he had taken upon an elephant out of regard for his father, interposed, and he observed, that so long as himself, his soldier, was alive, with so many others, such exertions would be unbecoming a general. Mean while some of his relations and men, seeing their commander's danger, quitted their horses, and surrounding his elephant, they mixed with the enemy, soon covered the ground with the blood of many of them, and put the whole to a stand. Pir-Ahmed was advancing himself, and encouraging his people to push on; but Cootoob-Eddin who now was at hand, advanced to charge him: Pir-Ahmed fatigued already by the resistance he had met round my father's elephant, from that valiant troop that fought like lions accustomed to tear their enemies; and thinking himself unequal to a fresh engagement, gave way, and he retreated full of shame and confusion; whilst a zephyr of victory rising over the field of battle, unfurled the drooping standards of my father's troops, and cheered their hearts. Pir-Ahmed, however, was overcome, but not ruined; and he soon came to another engagement, but was so severely beaten, that his Afghans, humbled and dispirited, slipped away one by one, and dispersed to their homes. And thus tranquility being re-established, my father with Cootoob-Eddin-Qhan, his friend, lived happy in the middle of relations, acquaintances, and soldiers.

It was about this time, that, inspired by a desire of kissing the sacred paternal feet, I quitted Azimabad a little before Shimshir-Qhan's treason; and in the first days of Muharrum, of the year 1161, I arrived at Berhaily, by-
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the way of Ghazipoor and Banares, where I was favoured with the blessing of seeing the paternal face. It was about the time when the Imperial Prince Ahmed-Mirza had gained that great victory over the Abdalies, which we have sometime ago mentioned. It was at this very time that Aly-Mahmed-Qhan-Rohilah, who from being the Vizir Cammer-Eddin-Qhan's prisoner, had been by his influence set at liberty, and moreover promoted to the command of Sher-hend, thought proper to quit his post; after which he soon assembled an army of forty thousand Afghans, and marched by Soharen-poor and Gundj-poor, accross the Djumna, directly to Moorad-abad and Berhaily, those where he had once commanded with so much power; and having possessed himself of that capital, where he established his government and authority, he crossed the Ganga to attack my father. As soon as this intelligence was spread in the country, the Afghans that constituted the greatest part of my father's troops being all either countrymen or acquaintances of Ali-Mahmed-Khan's, or attached to him personally, were overjoyed to see him again amongst themselves: and pretending that they were in arrears of pay by some months, they assembled in bodies, and, probably with no good intention, surrounded the house where my father lived, within the castle of Berhaily. He had with him only about three hundred Hindostanies, from about Shah-djehan-abad, and a small number of friends, relations, and servants. By this time Aly-Mahmed-Qhan being arrived within ten coffes of Berhaily, the situation of the besieged was become critical. In this conjuncture Cootoob-Eddin-Qhan took my father aside, and addressed him in these words: "*Robillah is come upon us with an army which we cannot pretend to fight, admitting even that he had not been joined by the Afghans of these countries, who have flocked to his standard in as great numbers as if they had been so many locusts or pismires: On the other hand, your very soldiers are now besieging you, and thirsting after your blood: I see then no other party left but this:—I will go out to meet Aly-Mahmed-Qhan-Robillah, and examine his sentiments respecting you: if he is not ill inclined towards you, I shall engage him to let*"

you

Singular character of Cootoob-eddin's.

*“ you extricate yourself from your actual difficulties; if I discover that he
 “ means you any ill, then I shall kill him instantly; and, as I shall be dispatched
 “ myself upon the spot, you may then manage as your fortune shall point out.”*
 This proposal my father accepted; and the brave and faithful Cootoob-
 eddin, having sallied out of the fort with a few of his most trusty men,
 went to Aly-Mahmed-Qhan's quarters: being arrived at that general's
 tent, he left his men at the door of the first enclosure, and went in with
 only two or three of them. Mean while those who were left without, being
 all extremely attached to him, and at all times ready to shed their blood for his
 sake, could not see him going in so weakly accompanied without being
 somewhat alarmed; so that two or three of them wanting to get in, were
 stopped by the chopdars and other people at the general's door. Cootoob-
 eddin hearing the noise returned back, and striking one of the chopdars
 slightly over the head, he asked him why he presumed to stop his people. This
 action having increased the tumult, some great mischief was likely to ensue,
 when Aly-Mahmed-Qhan, surprized at the cries and noise, ran bare-footed
 out of the enclosure, and taking that illustrious hero by the hand, he drew
 him to his breast, embraced him tenderly, and apologized for what had come
 to pass. After which he carried him within the tent, where he made him sit in
 the middle of his own mesned, himself taking a seat at the corner of it; and
 his behaviour in every thing else was very respectful. After interchanging
 the usual excuses and some customary compliments, Cootoob-eddin ad-
 dressed him in these words: *“ You, doubtless, have heard that I am become
 “ an intimate friend of the valiant Seyd-hedäiet-aaly-Qhan, the Lion in Wars;
 “ an attachment which he has been pleased to repay with every mark of kindness
 “ and love. You know, likewise, that his very soldiers, enticed by the hopes
 “ of your coming, have ungratefully turned their arms against their lord and
 “ master, and are now thinking of mischief. If such is your intention also, dis-
 “ miss me, that I may return and lay down my life in my friend's cause, and
 “ by my zeal and fidelity prepare for myself a durable monument in the registers
 “ of posterity:—march on with your troops, join those ungrateful wretches, and*

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*“ by falling together upon that handful of besieged folks, acquire the glory of
 “ having killed a Sëyd : else, if you be an open-hearted soldier, and you intend
 “ no mischief, then assist the man with some necessaries for his voyage to the ca-
 “ pital ; repress the seditious, use your influence to make them accept as much as
 “ the ready money and effects in the castle can afford ; and let him quit this coun-
 “ try with safety to his person, and some honour to his character.”* This
 speech had its full effect : Rohillah, with the most solemn oaths, protested
 that he intended no personal injury ; and, sending for the officers of his
 household, he directed them to prepare an equipage suitable to the gover-
 nor's rank and condition ; after which he dismissed his guest with every
 demonstration of honour, sending him back fully satisfied and con-
 tented : he only required that Cootoob-eddin should not go to Shah-
 Djehanabad, where he was apprehensive lest the forlorn state of so illuf-
 strious a man might engage the ministers to reinstate him at the head of
 an army in his father's government. My father, the next day after this
 treaty, came out of the castle with all his people, and took up his quarters
 at Pandj-mahla, a building at some distance without the walls of Berhëily,
 where he spent some days in much altercation about settling the respective
 claims of the seditious ; and he was every day in the hope of being soon able
 to get out of their hands. At last by the divine assistance this point was
 gained, and he arrived at the capital.

ABOUT the middle way, as we had passed Ferohabad, we heard at once
 a multitude of news : that Mahmed-Shah had departed this life ; that his
 son Ahmed-Mirza had returned, after having gained an important victory ;
 that the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan had been slain ; that Mir-Mannoo, his
 son, had been promoted to the two Viceroyalties Lahor and Mooltan ; and
 lastly, that Abool-Manfoor-Qhan had installed Ahmed-Mirza in the im-
 perial throne at the seat of Shahleh-Mar. Nevertheless the death of Mah-
 med-Shah had made such an impression in the country, that the roads
 were swarming with robbers and banditties, that did their business by
 troops ; so that it became necessary to march with great precaution, and to be
 continually

continually upon the watch. My father being arrived at Shah-Djehana-
bad, waited upon Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, son to Nizam-el-Mulk, in whose Djaghir
was Berhaily and its districts; but finding that he had but little inclination to
provide for such a loss, he turned his views towards Abool-Manfoor-Qhan.
That general, who heard of his intention, sent him Radja Maha-Narain,
son of his Divan, and did him the honor to invite him to his palace, where
he repaired with the Radja, and where he payed his respects to that general,
now Vizir of the Empire: an interview of which I availed myself to make my
bow to that prime minister, and to exchange a few words with him. In
a few days he was pleased to bestow on my father the command over Pani-
poot, Son-poot, and the Thirteen Districts under the immediate manage-
ment of the Qhalissah office; after which he got him decorated by the Em-
peror with the grade of five thousand horses, and with the insignia of a
kettle-drum and a fringed paleky. This appointment, being so strictly
connected with the Qhalissah office, at the head of which was Issac-Qhan,
afforded a fair opportunity of making a connection with that great Lord
himself; by whose means he obtained for Cootoob-eddin-Mahmed-Qhan,
his valuable friend, the foudjaries of Hyssar and Djudjar; and he therefore
invited over that invaluable pearl of the seas of prowess, Generosity and
fidelity. But that hero, who had his heart full against the Afghans and
Rohilas, and who held them, to be so many usurpers that had deprived him of
the post of Mooradabad, an office which was hereditary in his family from
the time of Feroh-Syur, and which was thought in every sense equal to a
Viceroyalty, declined the appointment; having then other designs in his mind;
Mooradabad, the place of his birth, was what he wanted, and all his thoughts
were bent on driving the Rohilabs from thence, and on regaining that
hereditary government. This could not be attained in the Vizir Camer-
eddin-Qhan's life-time, who was evidently Aly-Mahmed-Qhan protector; but
now circumstances had become more favourable; for Aly-Mahmed-Qhan,
who had come back with an army in those countries, and had con-
quered Mooradabad and all the districts that had once been in his power,
was

was sometime since dead of a cancer: His conquests had been divided and parcelled out by his relations, for instance, by his father-in-law Doondy-Qhan, by Hafyz-Ahmed, and one of his sons, and by several other chieftains, who under pretence of securing the estate for his sons-in-law, had taken possession of it for themselves; insomuch that when the real heirs came to ask their right, they were only allowed some districts sufficient for their maintainance, but were kept out of the estate by a strong grasp. In process of time, the usurpers became masters of extensive dominions and saw themselves lords of armies, as well as sovereigns of a court.

It was such dissensions that engaged Cootoob-Eddin's attention:—he concluded that this was the time to fall upon the Rohillahs and to drive them from Moorad-abad and their other recent conquests; and he applied to Intyzam-Eddöslah, son to Camer-Eddin-Qhan, for the patent of the fody-dary of those parts: a request which was complied with the more willingly, as those countries had ceased to acknowledge any subordination to the capital. Cootoob-Eddin then having his hands full of this project, had some reason to excuse himself from accepting my father's proffers; and he remained at the capital to push his point with the minister: the latter gave him, without delay, the patents he requested, but went no further; and he had the stinginess to assist him but feebly towards putting himself in equipage, and assembling an army with the necessaries for such an expedition. But such was the high opinion entertained of Cootoob-Eddin's prowess and conduct, that he found private purses that assisted him with the sums of money which his expedition required. The same renown that procured him money procured him an army, still more than the minister's exhortations: vast numbers of people, accustomed to a camp life, flocked in shoals to his standard, desirous to serve under the Hercules of his age, and soon formed him something like a court and something like an army. Notwithstanding these reinforcements, he tarried a while for a body of three-hundred men that had been his war companions, and whose bravery and attachment he had always experienced; and it was with such a small force, and such a handful of bra-

voes,

voes, that he undertook to dispossess a nation of fresh conquerors, that could muster more than fifty-thousand men in the field, and had plenty of money, canon, rockets, and ammunition; when he saw himself at the head of a force which he thought sufficient for his purpose, he came out of the city and encamped in the environs, resolved to compass his purpose or to perish in the attempt. The Afghans having got intelligence of this, assembled from all parts, and joined together at Moorad-abad. But on his drawing near, and even on his setting out from the capital, they sent him several messages, offering to come to an accommodation, under condition that he would give up all pretensions to Moorad-abad: their proposals were, to come in for a share of the country, on the same footing with themselves, in which case they would be glad to assign him a portion suitable to his rank and pretensions, as they were desirous to see him come and enjoy the products of that country, and live happy and quiet as they did themselves. But Cootob-Eddin was too high spirited to stoop to such an agreement; and resolved to have the whole or nothing: he advanced on them at the head of his force. The Afghans intimidated by so much obstinacy, commenced despairing of their cause, although they were so far superior to him in numbers and in every thing necessary for war and battle. For they were impressed with the highest opinion of the prowess and conduct of that Lion accustomed to tear his enemies. Cootob-Eddin, still advancing, was soon in sight of his foes, and an engagement took place; when that hero alighting from his horse, put himself at the head of his three hundred braves, and did so much execution, that the Afghans were pushed back as far as two or three cosses. But he was now come into a spot full of broken ground, where their dispersed troops, observing how ill their enemy was accompanied, and how he was far from his main, commenced firing under a variety of covers, and little by little they destroyed that formidable troop, which was now reduced to twenty or thirty men, mostly wounded; but which stuck close to their heroic commander. This latter had already received several wounds; and now being aimed at on all sides like a mark, several

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bullets

bullets were lodged in his breast, and he at last fell, after having performed in that trying day a number of memorable actions. About one hundred of his braves fell round his body, mixed their blood with his own, and afforded an everlasting topic to the encomiums and regrets of both their friends and enemies; ten or twelve men of that heroical troop having survived this scene of blood and slaughter, were taken up from the field of battle, and cured of their wounds; but it was only to become so many objects of envy and jealousy amongst military men, who all envied their fate. O God! vouchsafe to forgive their sins, and accept them in the day of judgment amongst the martyrs and the just!

We have already mentioned that the Imperial Prince, Ahmed-Mirza, after his victory, had come to Shaleh-mar, where he was saluted Emperor by Mahmed-Iffac-Qhan the Minister, and by Djavid-Qhan, the eunuch, as well as by all the grandees of the city; with whom he made his entry in the capital, and at last in the Imperial palace. The new Emperor had offered the Vizirship to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan; but that general, although so very worthy of that high office, did not chuse to meddle with it during Nizam-el-Mulk's life, so high an opinion he had conceived of his wisdom and power: letters and messages went to him in Decan both from the Emperor and from his ministers. Nizam-el-Mulk, already on the wing for the regions of eternity, answered by excusing himself on his old age, his inability to make voyages, and his disinclination from meddling with the affairs of the capital: He even wrote to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, to exhort him to assume that high office, and he ended his letter with these words: "*You are now the most promising of the children of these days. Take that office upon yourself, and exert yourself in recovering the affairs of the Empire and bringing them to some order.*" This letter had its effect on Abool-Manfoor-Qhan; but such was the high respect he bore to the very name of Nizam-el-Mulk, that he declined assuming the office in that Viceroy's life-time, who, however, lived but a few days after the above letter; so that on hearing that he had set out for the other world in the territory of B8rhanpoor, from whence his body had been carried

carried to Döulet-abad, in which city it had been buried without the fortress in a garden, close to Shah-Burhan-eddin, he gave his consent; and conscious of adequate abilities, he went to the Palace, where he was installed in that high office by a Qhylaat of seven pieces, to which were added four plates full of gems and jewels: so soon as he had put it on, he was saluted in full Derbar by the titles of "Principal of the Kingdom,—Center of all Business,—Hero of the Age,—Trust-worthy of all the Provinces of the Empire,—The Father of Victory,—The Hercules in Battles,—and The Generalissimo of the Imperial Forces."

BUT, as we have just been mentioning Nizam-el-Mulk's demise, it is proper that we should leave for a while the thread of our Narrative, in order to say something about the characters and private life of that famous man, as well as of three more illustrious personages, who seemed to have concerted together their voyage for eternity, after having acted the most important parts on the theatre of this world: these were, Emir-Qhan, Camer-eddin-Qhan, and Mahmed-Shah. After that, we shall, if it pleases God, the Author of all favors, revert to our history, and recount such remarkable events as have distinguished Ahmed-Shah's reign, and Abö8l-Manfoor-Qhan's ministry (52).

UMDET-UL-MULK-EMIR-QHAN BAHADYR, governor of Ilah-abad, was son of another Umdet-ul-Mulk-Emir-Qhan, Bahadyr, governor of Cab8l: his ancestor in remote times was an illustrious man, an Husseinian-Sëyd, of the branch of Naamet-ollah, whose family in process of time came to be called the Mir-Miranians, from a descendant of his who received that surname. This family is so very illustrious, even in Iran, that it needs

(52) The word *Qhan* is always the first title of honor conferred upon a man; it signifies a Prince or a mighty Lord; and answers to the English word *Esquire*, a word without consequence, doubtless; for the translator himself is a Qhan in Hindostany, and an Esquire in English. Umdet-ul-Mulk, signifies both the greatest of the Kingdom, and a column of the Kingdom. There are two branches of Seyds, the one descended from Hassen, and the other from Hossein, both sons of Aly, cousin to Mohammed, and of Fatemah his daughter. Hossein is the idol of Persians; and were his father to return into the world, he would be jealous of the figure his son cuts; for as to the grand-father, he is nearly out of question, when compared to those two. Mir-Mirani, the Lord of Lords: It signifies in Persia, a Governor-General, or Supreme.

neither encomiums nor writing. One of these Mir-Miranians, grand-father to our Emir-Qhan, on some misdemeanor or some other subject, quitted the court of Isfahan without taking leave from Shah-Abbass, the Hero of Iran, and fled to Hindostan, where he was so well received by the Emperor Djehanghir, son to Soltan-Acbar, that he soon became a favorite with him; living in his court in the utmost splendor. His prosperity however was constantly embittered by the thoughts of being parted from two beloved sons, whom he had been obliged to leave in Iran; and he often declared that he would revive and seem to commence a new life, as soon as he could behold them once more. His sorrow was so continual and so affecting, that amongst the several articles of instruction given to Qhan-Aalem, whom that Emperor sent in Ambassy to the court of Iran, the requesting and obtaining those two beloved children, was a considerable one. The ambassador rendered himself so agreeable to Shah-Abbas, that he obtained all his requests, and these two sons amongst the rest; on their arrival at the court of Hindostan, they were honoured with the title of Qhan, and promoted to the highest offices; Qhalil-ollah-Qhan, the eldest, rose to considerable dignities, and from that time the family never ceased to move in the highest sphere of honours, employs, and offices. Emir-Qhan's uncle was Pay-master-general to Äoreng-Zib, the conqueror (53), and a great favourite of his: his father died Viceroy of the important government of Cabool; and so satisfied was Äoreng-zib with that Governor's abilities and talents for government and for war, that so long as he knew him in that important post, he never expressed any apprehensions from the enterprising genius of the Monarchs of Iran; so that being thus left at liberty to pursue his designs in Decan, he made it a point to ascribe publicly to him every one of his conquests and victories; and he used to express himself in that style in the many letters which he wrote to the Governor. Our Emir-Qhan, son of that Viceroy, arrived by his merits and abilities at so much power and influence, and he seemed to deserve them so well, that no one of the grandees of the Empire could be compared to him: he seemed a compendium

(53) Aalem-ghir.

of every valuable qualification: he was besides so learned that few men could pretend to enter the lists with him. His prowess and military abilities could be compared to nothing but the keenness of his penetration, and to the clearness of his comprehension, which gave him at once, as if by intuition, so comprehensive a view of every affair, either public or private, that was brought before him, that the very suitors thought themselves happy to be eased of so great a part of their trouble. He delighted in the company of all sorts of men of merit, whether they were soldiers of a determined valour, men of talents, or men venerable by their learning; every species of talents attracted his notice: eminent fingers, eminent dancers, and in general all kinds of eminent men, especially in composition and poetry.—Whoever had been once in his company, could not part with him; and I have seen people fall so far in love with his conversation and character, that long after his death, no man of eminence ever pronounced his name or reported any thing of him, or made his eulogium, without shedding a flood of tears. The numbers of men of merit introduced by him into the world is not small; and numbers there are to-day whom he has raised from penury and distress to affluence, dignities, and power; numbers whom he enlisted amongst the Lords of the Empire, and the grandees of the state. He composed with great elegance and much facility, both in Persian and Hindostany poetry, often uttering extempore verses: but no man ever equalled him in the talent of saying bon mots, and in rejoining by a repartee. He possessed the art of narration in such a high degree, that people charmed with his story kept it hanging at their ears as a fragrant flower, whose perfume they wished to enjoy for ever. On the other hand, his generosity was such that when he had once allowed a pension to some one high or low, he never recalled it; but continued it to the person, altho' the occasion and necessity should have ceased long ago. Ingeniously delicate, every thing about his person or in his palace received from his directions such an elegance of form, that from that moment it was taken up as a pattern by all men of taste, and

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thenceforward

thenceforward became the fashion at court, and the standard of elegance both for apparel and furniture (54).

TRUTH will not permit us to say much of Camer-eddin-Qhan, notwithstanding he was Prime Minister of State, and bore the titles of "The trust-worthy of the Empire, and The Victorious in War." He was son of Mahmed-Amin-Qhan, who had cut so great a figure in the begining of Mahmed-Shah's reign, and drew his pedigree from Qhadja-Ehrar. Mahmed Amin early quitted Tooran(55), his native country, and came into Hindostan in Aoreng-zib the conqueror's time; where he rose by degrees to the military grade of five thousand horses: in process of time he rose to the grade of seven thousand; and this happened in Ferozh-Syür's reign chiefly through the countenance he received from the famous Abdollah-Khan; which however did not prevent him from joining in the conspiracy for murdering Hussain-aly-Qhan, brother to his benefactor. He was promoted to the Vizir-ship in the beginning of Mahmed-Shah's reign, but enjoyed that office but a few months, having been seized by the Claws of Death, that universal Tyrant who mows down indiscriminately the minister with the beggar. Camer-eddin-Qhan, his son, enjoyed in his father's life time the office of third Pay-master general (56), and of superintendant of the bathing-place or private apartments; and he was promoted to the Vizir-ship after Nizam-el-Mulk's departure for Decan, in which high office he exhibited no great talents for government; being slothful, inattentive, indolent, and eternally immersed

(54) There is a whole book of the remarkable sayings of Emir-Qhan; and we have already mentioned two of these: there is another which shews the readiness of his wit: Mehreban-Qhan, a Lord whose disgrace he had procured, being in Mahmed-Shah's company, complained bitterly of an affray in which the cart-men had beaten his people. I know not how it happens, added he, but all those whose names or callings end by a *Ban* prove all faithless, all ungrateful, all unruly and quarrelsome. *Gariban*, Cart-man; *Sar-ban*, Camel-driver; *Goozer-ban*, Toll-man; &c. &c. True, My lord *Mehre-ban*, interrupted Emir-Qhan, whose cart-men had headed the affray; what you say is nothing but true: I have experienced it this long while; and I am glad that you are become sensible of it at last.

(55) What they call Great-Tartary and *Siberia* in Europe, is called *Tooran*, all over Asia; but *Euxbeg* Tartary or *Turkistan* is more properly understood by that name in Hindostan.

(56) We have already observed that the Pay-master-General is always a military man, and some thing like a Major-General.

in all kinds of pleasures (57); but he was inoffensive, and such an enemy to oppression, that the people of the capital remember him with regret to this very day; he was a magnificent friend, and a bountiful patron; but a weak Vizir, wanting firmness and activity. He lived in a style of the utmost grandeur and magnificence, denying himself no kind of pleasure; and passing his time in tasting of every one of them successively. He died, as we have said, a month and some days before his master Mahmed-Shah's demise.

THIS Prince who was son to Djehan-Shah-Qhojista-Ahter, grand-son to Bahadyr-Shah, and great-grand-son to Aorengzib-Alemghir, wanted neither genius nor abilities; but he was so very good-natured, that in that respect he exceeded the measure proper in the character of Kings and Princes. Naturally of a passive temper, and wanting firmness of mind, he was apt to be led by his servants; and he became dependent on his ministers in such a manner, as to become as indolent as themselves, and as incapable to recover the empire from that state of debility in which it fell under Feroh-Syür. Young and handsome, and fond of all kinds of pleasures, he addicted himself to an inactive life, which intirely enervated the energy of the Empire. This inactivity of temper became still more conspicuous after Nadyr-Shah had ruined his capital, and restored him his crown; the fire of his youth and the turbulence of his passions having then subsided, his genius subsided likewise: he studied his repose above all things, and so as to become averse to business. About the end of his reign, he seemed to have taken a liking to the conversation and company of fakys and religious men; and he condescended so far as to listen to a representation from them with the best grace in the world. Being naturally averse from blood and violence, his subjects under his reign enjoyed much rest and prosperity. It may be said with truth, that under his reign the government was still respected, the honour of the empire supported, and the Majesty of the

(57) He had a Seraglio of five thousand women, which being dressed by regiments in gold or silver tissues at such a particular day, were let loose in a park or garden, where he used to gallop up and down after them mounted upon a nag. But he had besides another Seraglio, in the style of that kept by Trajan; and this was of no less than fifteen hundred persons, as handsome as could be found throughout the Empire.

throne,

throne, kept alive and standing: for after his demise everything went to wreck; and he may be considered as the seal and last of the Emperors of the House of Babr. A little time after his demise the words Empire and Emperor became only empty sounds and mere names, that conveyed no distinct meaning.

THE principal of those that contributed to all that decay, was Nizam-el-Mulk, who was stiled the wise minister (58); he was son to Ghazi-Eddin-Qhan-Bahadyr, and grand-son to Abed-Qhan: his own name was Camer-Eddin, and he descended from Sheh-Sheabedin. His maternal grand-father, Saad-ollah-Qhan, was supreme Vizir to the Emperor Shah Djehan; but his paternal grand-father, Abed-Qhan, was one of the most venerable magistrates of Samarcand (59); from whence he came into Hindostan in that Emperor's life-time, and was taken into the service of the Imperial Prince Aoreng-zib; who on his mounting the throne, raised him to the grade of five thousand horses, and twice promoted him to the office Sadr-el-Soodoor (60). Being at the siege of Gol-conda (61), with that Prince, he was struck by a musket-ball, and fell at once both from the plafrey of fortune, and the horse of existence. His son, Shehab-Eddin, came to be one of the Lords and Grandees of Aoreng-zib's court; and rose by degrees to the grade of seven thousand horses, and to the title of "Victorious in War;" serving as a Principal General in his armies. At the taking of Bidjapoor, he was decorated with other titles of honor. After his master's demise, we find him governor of G8djr4t, under Bahadyr-Shah. He died in the year 1152; and left a son called Camer-eddin-Qhan, alias Nizam-el-Mulk; who in Aoreng-zib's reign was honoured with the surname of "The Sabre-drawing-Lord (62)," and the grade of five thousand horses. At the end of that Prince's reign, he was governor of Bidja-

(58) Afef-djah, he that sits in Afef's stead, which Afef was Solomon's Vizir.

(59) Samar-cand, the Maracanda of Quint-Curtius, is now a great city of Eusbegh-Tartary.

(60) Sadr-el-Soodoor, Bishop of Bishops, or great Almoner.

(61) Gol-conda was once the Gentoo name of Bagnagar now Haiderabad. It is still the name of a very large Fortrefs at four cosles from thence. *Feroz-Djung* is translated in English *Victorious in War*;

(62) Chin-Kylydj-Qhan are the text of the words *Sword-drawing Lord*. They are Turkish, the original language of all that family.

poor (63). In the beginning of Behadyr-Shah's reign, he was governor of A8d, with the title of "Lord of the Age" (64). A little after, we find him disgusted at the absolute authority assumed by the Vizir, Affed-Qhan, or his son, the generalissimo Zulficar-Qhan; and resigning both his government and title, to take up the garb of a fakir, and to lead a retired life. At the beginning of the reign of Muëz-eddin-Djehandar-Shah, he was requested to re-assume his grade and title, and to appear again at Court. On the first year of FeroH-Syur's reign, he was decorated with the titles of "Composer of the Kingdom" (65), and "Victorious in Wars"; promoted to the grade of five thousand horses, and appointed to the Viceroyalty of Decan. But some time after, that important office having been bestowed on Hufsëin-aaly-Qhan, the famous brother of Abdollah-Qhan, Nizam-el-Mulk returned to Court; where, as an atonement for that recall, he received the great Fodjdary of Moorad-abad, which was equal to a Viceroyalty. Under the young Emperor, Refy-el Derjat, he was, by Abdollah-Qhan's recommendation, promoted to the government of Malva. But that did not prevent his falling out with him, as well as with the Viceroy, his brother: for in the beginning of Mahmed-Shah's reign, he gave them the slip, and went into Decan; where he at once possessed himself of some of the provinces that go by that name; and, in process of time, of all the six and a half of the governments that compose that part of the Empire. On Mahmed-amin-Qhan's demise, he was promoted to the office of Vizir, which he held but a short time: being dissatisfied with the grantees of the Court, and likewise with the Emperor himself, whose sentiments seemed altered, he quitted the Court, and retired to his government of Decan, with which he lived satisfied. Still he was recalled to Court, and on Qhan-dö8ran's death was decorated with the title of "Lord of Lords" (66), then vacant: but hearing at the same time that his second son,

(63) Bidja-poor is the same as the Vizapoor, or, more properly, of the Vizia-poor of our charts.

(64) Qhan-do8ran.

(65) Nizam-el-Mulk, Nassyr-djung.

(66) Emir-ul-Umera.

Naffyr-Djung, whom he had appointed Deputy in Decan, had become rebellious, he resigned his office of "Lord of Lords", in behalf of his eldest son, Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, and returned again to Decan, as we have already mentioned in the First Volume, and likewise in this Volume. Nor is that Decan to be thought of slightly: it contains the aggregate dominions of several ancient kings, and it is in such an extensive tract that he governed with an absolute authority for the space of seven and thirty years. His character was so highly respected, amongst all the lords and grandees of Mahmed-Shah's court, although some of them were of equal dignity, that they never wrote or spoke to him, but as to their superior, and never demeaned themselves in his presence but with deference and submission.

COVETOUSNESS and ambition seemed to be the basis of his character; but if we can pass over that, we shall find him endowed with a number of excellent qualities: he was a man of eminent merit, who filled a very exalted station that equalled him to the greatest Kings, with all the talents and all the sublime qualifications which his situation required. His palace was at all times open to the poor, the needy, and the aged, as well as to the learned, and the deserving: in one word, to all that had any suit to prefer. To all these he ever paid a strict attention, being careful to relieve their wants. His character for distinguishing merit, and for rewarding it to its full extent, was so universally spread, that men of parts, and also people of all sorts, flocked to his court from all the neighbouring countries; from Arabia, and from Mavera-al-Nahr (67); from Qhorasan, from Harac, and from R8m: and all were sure to advance their fortunes in his service. Fond of public works, he finished the walls of the city of B8rhanp8r, which he had commenced in the year 1141; and he re-peopled the city of Feridap8r which he found ruined, and to which he gave the name of Nizamabad, building in it mosques, and Karavan-Seras, as well as a palace and a bridge. He likewise raised walls round the city of Haiderabad, and built a

(67) Mavera-al-Nahr, is Arabic, and signifies the country on the other side the water, the Trans-oxana of the antients. Qhorasan is one of the six grand divisions of Iran and Persia, as is Harac, or Hircania, another division. R8m is the Roman country, or the Turkish Empire.

superb Mosque at Aorengabad: the canal that runs through the middle of that city, is a work of his. Afford repose,—O Lord of mercy and forgiveness, to such servants of your's! He was a man of great equality of temper, and a learned one, fond of uttering extempore verses; and there is a Poem and a volume of poetry of his, actually extant. He departed his life thirty-seven days after Mahmed-Shah's demise, and it was the fourth of the second Djemady, in the year 1161 of the Hedjrah. Mir-gh8lam-aaly, the Poet of Belgram, has comprehended in six words the chronogram of those three illustrious men deceased at the same time: It is in an enigmatic stile.

“ Past are they all three, whilst I am sobbing and saying, ah! for one.

“ Gone are the king, the Vizir and Asses-Djah.”

But he has spoken in a more open manner in the following verses:

“ Fallen are, ah! the three columns of this Empire;

“ Disappeared are they from this world, as three precious pearls from an unlucky

“ hand.

“ I have comprehended these three invaluable losses in this single verse:

“ Gone is the King, the Vizir, and the Asses of this age,”

After complimenting our readers with that digression on those eminent personages, we shall return now to the thread of our history. The Emperor and his Vizir being now satisfied as to Nizam-el-Mulk's intentions, the dignity of Lord of Lords, with the office of First pay-master, was bestowed on Sadat-Qhan, son to another Sadat-Qhan, who lived under Feroh-Syur; and in the fourteenth of Redjeb of the same year, the Vizir Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan went to court, where he was received with the utmost distinction, and complimented with a sabre and a poniard of jewell-work, with a variety of other jewells, and with a Qhylaate of seven pieces. He was at the same time installed with a rich belt in the government of Acbar-abad-agrah. The command of the Ahedian guards was at the same time bestowed on Ahmed-aaly-Qhan, son to his sister; and as Issaac-Qhan's sister had of late been married to Shudjah-eddö8lah, son to the Vizir, this alliance raised that popular nobleman's power to the utmost pitch; and he soon succeeded his father the late Issac-Qhan in the Divanship of the Qhalissah.—

But

But a man who suddenly came to cut a great figure at Court, was Djavid-Qhan. This eunuch who had from a long time intimate connections with 8dem-bay (68), mother to the reigning Emperor, became so great a favorite with that prince also, that he fancied himself a minister of state, and indeed soon came to act as such, through the insinuations of that Princess on the mind of the weak prince, her son. As he was an ancient slave of the Imperial household, in high favor with the late Emperor, and in consequence of his connections with the Empress's mother, possessed a perfect knowledge of every thing within both the sanctuary and the palace; he was thought the fittest person for the office of Nazyr, an important charge that gives an absolute controul within the Seraglio, and was vacant since R8z-Afz8n-Qhan's decease. In this manner he came to be master of the Emperor's private hours. That prince, who in conformity to his maternal origin was in fact full of levity, and carried a head without brains, soon came to follow the example set him by that man: he fell into a course of crapulence, and debauch; and he abandoned the helm entirely to him: so that the latter who was now decorated with the title of Navab-Bahadyr, or the valiant deputy, commenced meddling in every matter of State; and at last came to have his opinion abided by, as a matter of necessary form. Such an authority in an eunuch was more than the high spirit of Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan could bear; and as the other made no secret of his influence, every day furnished new matter of discontent, and incessantly afforded fresh fuel to that fire, which in a little time blazed out in a flame. About this time the office of Second pay-master, with the fodjdary of Moorad-abad, was bestowed on Intyzam-eddö8lah one of Camer-eddin-Qhan's sons; and a few days after a Qhylaat of mourning was given to Ghazy-eddin-Qhan, on the demise of his father Nizam-el-Mulk; it was Djavid-Qhan who put an end to his mourning, and brought him to court. On the seventeenth of Redjeb, the charge of Comptroller of the Qhaliffah office, together with a military

(68) The words Bay, P8ri, Coar, &c. added to a woman's name, always attest her to be or to have been a dance-woman; that is, not a prostitute, but a Courtesan; a sort of women admitted in all companies in Hindostan, and treated with demonstrations of regard and honor.

augmentation of a thousand horses to his grade, was bestowed on Asker-aly-Qhan; and a few days after the government of the province of Adjmir was presented to the Vizir. About this time, being in Shaaban, Haddy-ally-Qhan that illustrious profelite of a new sect, departed this life, and was entombed near Shah-Nom8d, his director's monument. Terbiyet-Qhan likewise died in this month; nor did this year produce any more important events. But now the scene will become more interesting.

WE have already mentioned that Aly-Mahmed-Qhan Rohilah, had returned with an army to the country of M8radadad, &c. and after having taken possession of it, expelled my father, the Imperial governor; soon after which he died of a cancer, that had spread all over his back. This event was seized upon by the Vizir Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan, who had been taking this long while much umbrage at the establishment which those warlike people had made on the frontiers of his government of A8d: he had already engaged Mahmed-Shah on an expedition intended to extirpate them, but which did not produce its full effect, his plan having been countracted by Camer-ed-din-Qhan's management and double dealing. An opportunity offered now to resume his scheme: he was himself become Vizir, and director of all the affairs of the Empire: Aly-Mahmed-Qhan Rohillah had just crossed over to the valley of Nothingness; and divisions had arisen in the family of that new founder. With this view, he engaged Cäim-Qhan, son to Mahmed-Qhan-Bangash, to recover that whole country from the hands of Rohilah's family, sensible that the defeat and ruin of either party would prove of so much gain to himself. Cäim-Qhan, who had already cast a wishful eye on the private and public estate of Rohilah's family, besieged his children in the castle of Budäon, and streightened them so far as to prevent their having any communication with any one without. These were Saad-ollah-Qhan, eldest son of Rohilah, a young prince, who had married Hafiz-Rahmet's daughter, and being reputed his father's representative, actually sat on his mesned: But the other was Dondi-Qhan's son-in-law; and both these chieftains having taken possession of the coun-

Death of Ally-Mahmed Rohilah.

The Vizir foments the troubles which follow.

try in right of their sons-in-law, had in fact kept it for themselves; although the civil-government was still in the hands of Saad-ollah-Qhan. The latter who was shut up with his whole family, and that of his father, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, and straitened by an enemy that would not relent, at once took his party: he came out of the castle, and having assembled some troops, he resolved to risk every thing in defence of his life and fortune: this happened in the tenth of Zilhij, in the year 1161. Dividing, therefore, his troops into two parts, he concealed one in the bed of a river which had become dry, and advanced with the other against Cäim-Qhan. The battle having already commenced and become very warm, Saad-ollah-Qhan, unable to bear the attack of the whole Afghan nation, which fought under Cäim-Khan's orders, was obliged to retreat; and at last he fled full speed: but still he turned about now and then, and charged his pursuers; till at last, he came to the ambuscade. Cäim-Qhan, in the full hope of victory, was pursuing with ardour, followed by almost all the commanders of his army, when at once some thousands of Saad-aalah Qhan's people, who were concealed in the dry bed, got up, and let fly such a shower of balls and rockets, that Cäim-Qhan himself, with all his commanders were killed on the spot, together with a vast number of his soldiers; thus leaving a complete victory to Saad-ollah-Qhan.

WHILE the Afghans were involved in civil wars, the Court seemed busy in promotions and rejoicings. The Nö8-r8z was celebrated on a Friday, the second of the second Reby; and a few days after Mirza-Muhfen, elder brother to the Vizir-Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan, departed this life. About the end of the same year Aaly-amjed-Qhan was honoured with a fringed Pa-leky; but two months after, as he was at his day-break devotions, and reciting prayers for mercy and health upon his beads of clay (69), he suddenly fell

(69) The Persians and all the Shiyas, who pay an idolatrous worship to every thing that relates to Hossein, never make use of any other beads but those made of the clay of Kerbelah, where he is interred. This clay is dyed of a yellow green and baked; they suppose it to be always of the soil taken from that Mosque. Was this the case in fact, the Mosque would have tumbled down long ago. Those beads are made of the soil of the territory

fell down and expired. This appearance of tranquility at the capital soon gave way to troubles of a most alarming nature.

WE may remember that Mir-Mannoo, the late Vizir's eldest son, had been appointed to the double government of Lahor and Mooltan by Mah-med-Shah himself: to support so great a burthen, he had taken Begari-Qhan as his deputy, and had allowed him an absolute authority. The new Viceroy had just taken possession of that important post, and had found no time yet to prepare either an army, or to take any measures, when at once news came that Ahmed-Shah, the Abdaly, was again marching to Lahor. Unprepared as Mir-Mannoo must have been, he was obliged to present himself against that monarch: but as neither party had sufficiently prepared themselves for a decisive engagement, the Viceroy thought it better to shake the chain of friendship and accommodation, in the Abdaly's ears, and to smother a fire that had not yet broke out in a flame. The Abdaly who was no better prepared, was glad to hear that the affair took such a turn, and he agreed to retire, on the Viceroy's promising to him the revenue of four districts that had always been appointed to defray the pay of the garrison of Cabul: a condition which Nadyr-Shah had likewise stipulated: these were Syal-Cot, Aorengabad, G8djr4t, and Pursurur: and this condition being accepted, he retired to his own dominions, and left the Vizir at liberty to follow his scheme against the Rohilas.

Troubles in
M8ltan quashed.

THIS minister no sooner heard of the state of affairs at Moorad-abad, than sensible that he had benefited in every sense, by the defeat of one of the two parties, he resolved to avail himself of it so far as to recover those countries from the hands of the survivors. With this view he came out of the city with the Emperor, on the first day of Zilhij, and took up his re-

The Vizir marches against the Rohillas.

tory of Kerbelah, where every thing is stiff clay. Great miracles are ascribed to the holy clay, and no Shya will pray unless he has before him a piece of that clay twice bigger and thicker than an English crown, on which he never fails to lay his fore-head in every one of the numerous protestations which characterise the Mahometan prayers. A little of that clay is likewise put in a dead man's hands, and he is buried with it. It is given to the sick, and vast numbers of them daily recover; and as it is likewise greatly instrumental in procuring the remission of sins, it is held by them as a miraculous Panacea. Hence the reason of that clay's being called the clay of health as well as mercy.

fidence

fidence in tents. In a few days he arrived at Kevol, where leaving the Emperor behind, he advanced himself to the river Gundj, which is only at twenty cosses from Feroh-abad. This approach intimidated Cäim-Qhan's mother, Consort to Mahmed-Qhan Rohila, who finding herself shut up in the place without any resource, submitted to necessity, and paid in money and effects a contribution to the amount of sixty lacs. After this the Vizir called Saad-ollah-Qhan to an account for the elephants, horses, equipage, and artillery, which had belonged to the vanquished, and also for the Nazurana due to the Imperial treasury; and got from him a large sum, but which did not become public. On hearing of this success the Emperor returned to this palace, and a few days after he celebrated the Nö8-r8z, which fell on the 12th of the second Reby of the same year. Meanwhile the Vizir who had tarried some time about Feroh-abad, was busy in receiving the promised sums, and in taking possession of the country of the Bangash Afghan's; but he thought proper to leave untouched the city of Feroh-abad and the twelve districts round the same, which had been Bangash's Altumghah or irrevocable fief ever since Feroh-Syur's reign: he left the whole for the subsistence of Cäim-Qhan's mother and family. Having in this manner recovered in a little time the stipulated sums and effects, he sent for Nevol-räy the deputy he had left at A8d, and put under his care and absolute authority the whole of the conquests he had lately made, after which he returned to the capital.

THIS Nevol-Räy, who was originally a Cäet by tribe, and of the lowest officers of Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan's household, had rendered his master so many services, and he had become so very agreeable to him, that he was promoted to high offices, made his deputy throughout the whole government, and rose to so much favour, as to be equalled by no one man in the service. This deputy took up his residence in the city of Cannodge (70), the private appa-

(70) Cannodge on the Ganges has been the capital of India fifteen-hundred years ago, as it has been likewise for thousand of years before that period. It was surrounded by lofty walls of twenty leagues in circuit, which in a country so very continent as India, contained no less than sixty thousand prostitutes, paying a tax, and as many shops for Paan or Beetle. If that be so, it must have been as big as Dehli has been under Mahmed-Shah, and must have contained as well as this two millions of souls. This immense city although partly inhabited, is now in ruins, as is Dehli itself, where grass grows abundantly in the streets.

nage of his master's, and only at twenty coffes from Feroh-abad; from whence he spread his officers and collectors all over the country. He also seized most of the brothers of Cäim-Qhan, I mean such as were from other mothers, together with some trusty slaves of the family, and sent them all prisoners to the castle of Ilah-abad; at the same time his violences and extortions rose to such an excess, that they became the real cause of the troubles and mighty events that followed. Cäim-Qhan's mother sent word of all this to Ahmed-Qhan, her half-brother, an officer of consequence in the Vizir's service; and she informed him that "*the honor of the Afghan nation was gone, as well as that of his father's; but that if there remained any sense of pride in him, now was the time to produce it, and to approve himself a true Afghan.*" She likewise sent messages full of taunts and reproaches to all the Afghan chiefs of the neighbourhood. The Afghans roused by these messages assembled in troops, and swore every one to each other that they would not part society, untill they had destroyed both Nevol-räy and his power, and recovered their own country. Nevol-räy informed of this general revolt, applied to the Vizir for assistance; and mean while he came out of Cannodje with the troops he had under his command, and he entrenched himself in expectation of the succours which had been already dispatched. The Vizir having taken his leave of the Emperor, came out of the city, and encamped at the ford of Anbely, on the banks of the Djumnah, where he took up his residence in a seat until he had assembled all his troops. In a few days he dispatched Nassyr-eddin-Haider-Qhan, his brother in law, together with Mahmed-aaly-Qhan, a commander of character, to Nevol-räy's assistance; and two days after, he dispatched likewise Ismäil-beg-Qhan, called the slave-boy, a very trusty commander of his, on the same errand. This was followed by Radja Debi-Dutt, fodjdar of Kevol. But before these succours could come up, Ahmed-Qhan had already appeared with a large body of Afghans before Nevol-räy's intrenchment; and that officer who had already quitted the Vizir's service, and wanted to put the deputy off his guard, had undertaken to amuse him with a variety of messages about an accomodement; the negociation was kept on foot, until the tenth of Ra-

The Afghans
roused by the
message of Caim
Qhan's mother,
raise upon Ne-
vol-ray.

mazan, when there appeared at once a great body of Afghan horses in the front of Nevol-räy's intrenchment, where was all his artillery; and whilst his attention was taken up with these, a large body of infantry turned his camp, and falling on his rear, penetrated through his intrenchment, and marched straight to his quarters, where they cut him down. This execution was done so rapidly that Ata-ollah-Qhan, one of the best officers of the camp, (whom we have mentioned, in Ali-verdi-Qhan's history, as a nobleman, who had married Rabiah-begum, and of course was son-in-law to Hadji-Ahmed,) found just time to fly to Nevol-räy's assistance with his troops, and to lay down his head at his feet: he was slain together with a number of brave soldiers and gentlemen, who distinguished themselves on that occasion, and set out in company for the kingdoms of eternity: they were mostly of the environs of A8d and Lucknow, and especially of Belgram, a town in the neighbourhood of the latter city, and famous for the hereditary bravery of its inhabitants. The artillery as well as every thing in camp, fell a prey to the Afghans. This intelligence being carried to the Vizir, seemed to affect him much more sensibly than the troubles that were rising in Decan, a part of the Empire which seemed now quite independent.

NASSYR-DJUNG, second son and successor of Nizam-el-Mulk, having been sent for this year by the Emperor, had advanced to the banks of the Nerbedda, with about seventy or eighty thousand horses, all old troops; but as the Emperor did not like his coming so well accompanied, he wrote him a letter with his own hand to inform him that he had altered his mind, and given him liberty to return; an order which the other complied with the more readily, as he had just been informed that his own sister's son, Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan, surnamed Muzafer-djung, pretended to independence in Decan; he therefore returned and soon arrived at his capital, where he gave rise to some events which we reserve for the subsequent sheets: Our intention being now to go on with the Vizir's expedition.

THE defeat of Nevol-räy having made a deep impression on that minister's mind, at the very time he was himself marching to his assistance, he
on

On the month of Shaaban of the year 1163 returned to the capital, and took a fresh leave of the Emperor; on which occasion Iffac-Qhan, and Mir-Baca son to the late Camer-Eddin-Qhan, were ordered to attend him with the Imperial troops. As the Vizir was setting out, he was complimented by the Emperor with a sabre, a buckler, and a coat of mail, together with a variety of other curious things, the Emperor being desirous of shewing him every kind of regard, and of raising his character in the opinion of mankind. Iffac-Qhan received a fatch-pitch and a Sabre, but Mir-Baca, a fatch-pitch only; and both were ordered to obey the Vizir's orders. The latter setting out at the head of his troops, marched twenty coffes in three or four days, at which time he received farther news about Nevol-räy and the country under his command. He was then at Barr, a large town inhabited only by Sëyds: there he assembled his troops; and he also sent for my father, a nobleman of whom he had made a friend, and whom he had appointed to the command of Pani-p8t and Son-p8t. Having spent about a month in the several seats round Barr, he found himself at the head of seventy thousand horses; but before his departure there happened a strange event, of which the by-standers drew a bad omen for his expedition.

On the eighteenth of Ramazan, a camel-driver belonging to a Mogul, chanced to cut down a tree which grew at the door of one Enäiet-Qhan, a man in the Vizir's service. The latter trusting to his master's high power, seized the driver and chastised him as he deserved. On this the other camel-drivers assembled in a body and went to complain to the Mogul, who was a commander of a body of horse in the army. The Mogul sent his people to fetch Enäiet-Qhan: On which a multitude of horse and foot ran to Enäiet-Qhan's house; and some one who knew nothing of the quarrel, having chanced to say, on looking at those armed men, that an order had come for sacking the town: this word seemed to be taken up as a signal for a general plunder; all the mogul officers of the camp with their country men, got up in an instant, it being in the after-noon, and fell like so many incarnated devils on the inhabitants of that unfortunate town, which they ruined

The Town of Barr, wholly inhabited by Seyds is sacked by the Vizir's Mogul-Troops.

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in a little time: They also killed Enaïet-Qhan and his son, a youth of eighteen. On the first report of the tumult, the Vizir had dispatched Haider-Qhan with a number of Nissiqhchies to put a stop to the disorder, and to drive away the plunderers. But untill this officer could arrive, and untill the Nissiqhchies could make an impression upon them, all was over. Vast numbers of people were slain; and the consorts and children of so many Sëyds, and of so many people of the better sort, who inhabited that town, were carried in captivity, and experienced every usage which an unbridled soldiery could inflict. Women, children, furniture, every thing was made plunder of. Haider-Qhan, after having exerted himself the whole night, was so lucky about the dawn of the day, as to assemble a number of captives, which he drew one by one from the tents of those accursed Moguls, and he lodged them together in a set of tents which the Vizir had ordered to be pitched on purpose for the m. This minister himself had passed that whole night without going to bed; he was often observed to shed a flood of tears; nor could he be prevailed to eat any thing the whole next day, which he spent in inquiring after so many matrons that had never set a foot out of a house, and were now in the hands of his foldiers: these he sent to their homes. Children of all ages which those accursed men had concealed in fosses of their own digging, which they had covered with branches of trees and with turf, were found out, brought to the Vizir, and returned to their disconsolate friends. On beholding that universal desolation, one might have said that the last day of the world was come for that unfortunate town; and that it had undergone the supreme judge's sentence. Nothing was heard but sobs and lamentations both there and all over the plain. The Vizir sent to the wretched inhabitants the head of the Mogul commander,—But to what purpose? Past was what was past, and it was irremediable. Two days after that dreadful event, that minister left Bar, and moved forwards; but people had already commenced to say, that his expedition would not be attended with success, and they applied to him and to his men, these known verses of Saady:

“ That smoke which you see does not rise from that Rue you are burning ;

“ That smoke rises chiefly from the oppressed man's heart.”

THE

THE two armies being in sight of each other, the Vizir sent for my father, who was now a chief commander in Issaac-Qhan's troops; and as he had long governed at Bereily and Morad-abad, and was acquainted with the Rohilas and with their manner of waging war and of engaging an enemy, he requested to hear his advice and opinion. My father answered, "*That these people dealt very much in ambuscades, and feints; that their custom was to appear in great numbers, and after a slight combat to draw the enemy into some snare, when they turned about again, and faced him afresh. But that whenever such a stratagem of their's failed of success, it was their practice to turn their backs, and to fly in earnest, as soon as they were sensible of their being pursued slowly and with caution. His opinion was therefore that as the Moguls were troops that could be relied upon, it would be proper that a body of three or four thousand of them should be ordered to advance a little before the Vizir's elephant, but on foot, and with their musquets and wall-pieces ready, in order to have a body of Musqueteers at hand, should the enemy make a shew of some ambuscade.*" My noble father was yet speaking when he was interrupted by Ismaël-beg-Qhan, who tired of the length of the advice, said that to-morrow he would seize Ahmed-Qhan's wife and children, and bring them fast in a corner of his bow. To this my father said not a word. The next day, at day-break the Vizir after performing his prayers, ordered his canon to march in front and upon the wings, and having ranged his troops in the best order, he advanced with a slow pace. At about nine o'clock, the engagement commenced, by a discharge of canon and musquets on both sides, and it continued for sometime in the same manner. Afterwards, Radjah S8r8dy-mull, the Djatt, who commanded at the right wing, and Ismael-beg-Qhan, who commanded at the left, advanced on a gallop, and charged so vigorously R8stem-Qhan and some other Afghan commanders, that they drew every where smoke from their breasts: pursuing their point, they covered the ground with six or seven thousand of the best men amongst the Afghan horses. The rest retired reluctantly, but being vigorously pursued they fled at last, and dispersed.

The Vizir attacks the Rohilabs.

perfed. At this very time Radja Ber-chunder-Mehender, who had out-marched both the Djatt prince and Ifmail-beg-Qhan, proved to be separated from his main, and out of the Vizir's fight; and that minifter being occupied in perpetually fending to thofe two generals, canon, rockets and ammunition, had fo thined his own front that it remained unfurnished with thofe neceffaries, and nearly empty of troops: the fun was inclining to the weft and the army feemed parted afunder. The minifter no fooner obferved this diforder, and no fooner faw that the Gentoo prince was already out of fight, than he recollected what my father had told him, and he was cafting his eyes about to difcover fomething like an ambufcade, when at once Ahmed-Qhan with a choice body of Afghan horfes fuddenly made his appearance; and the engagement, which feemed at an end, re-commenced with fury. Unluckily it happened, whether by a particular interpoftion of the divine Providence or otherwife, that Camcar-Qhan, the fodjar of the fuburbs of the capital, who was neareft to the Vizir's body of troops, unable to ftand the violent fire of mufquetry and rockets inceffantly poured by a body of Afghan foot that now made their appearance, had turned about and fled: it is even reported that he was actually in concert with Ahmed-Qhan-Bangafh, and that his flight was premeditated:— Be it as it will, the Moguls of the two wings finding themfelves almoft left alone, loft their wonted firmnefs; and this being obferved by the Vizir, he immediately difpatched to their affiftance both Mahmed-aly-Qhan the colonel, and Noor-el-Haffen-Qhan the Belgramite, with their troops. But there was fuch a quantity of loofe Elephants and loofe Horfes on the field of battle, that the paffage feemed blocked up every where. Noor-el-Haffen-Qhan however opened his way thro' them, as did a little after, Abdol-Neby, one of Mahmed-Aly-Qhan's flaves: this laft troop amounted to about four hundred horfes, and thefe two bodies cutting their way both thro' the loofe horfes and thro' the enemy, reached the Vizir's troops, which were divided from their main. But as the Moguls were already flying, the arrival of fo brave a body, proved of no avail, and thefe two officers

officers, obliged to turn about, endeavored to join the left wing: as they were advancing, they discovered behind them a body of two or three thousand foot, supported by a body of cavalry which were coming from the left, but which by their long faces and long beards seemed evidently to be enemies (71); by this time most of the artillery had been sent to the support of the advanced troops, so that no firing was heard there from any cannon that might support those two brave bodies. For all that they cut their way back and joined their friends, when facing about, they made a general discharge upon their pursuers, and stretched numbers of them upon the ground; but here too this succour proved of no avail: the Moguls were already flying, and although the officers made a stand, their example was not followed by the others. The battle had become general in both wings, and few people cared to stand their ground: amongst those that distinguished themselves eminently, few were regretted so much as Haider-Qhan, brother-in-law to the Vizir; like a famished lion, he with a small body, threw himself amongst the Afghan's and was observed to kill seven men with his own hand; he was slain at last, and he hastened to enjoy the parterres of tulip in the gardens of eternity. N8r-el-hassen-Qhan was wounded with a musquet-ball, as was Mahmed-aly-Qhan; Mir-gh8lam-Nebi, the Poet of Belgram, although much wounded, found means to escape; but Mir-azim-eddin-Qhan, one of the bravest S8yds of Belgram, followed Haider-Qhan, and hastened with him into the regions of eternity: and now the danger came close to the Vizir's person: the Afghans surrounded his elephant, without knowing who it was. The driver fell down dead: Mirza-aly-Naky, tutor to Shudjah-edd8lah, the Vizir's son, was struck by a musket-ball, as he was sitting behind the Vizir, and fell: the Vizir himself received a ball in his throat, and fell in a swoon within the häodah. Luckily for him, that it was a war-häodah, and barded in brass; so that the Vizir having fallen within, was secured from further wounds, and nothing appeared of him but his head. Nor was his falling into a swoon, of small use to save his life; the Afghans seeing

The Vizir defeated & wounded.

(71) The Moguls have round faces, and short beards: The Hindostanics, oval beautiful faces, and smooth chins.

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the häodah empty, with only one dead man in it; left it and went forwards, where they met Iffac-Qhan; the latter cried aloud that he was the Vizir: he was well mounted, and at the head of a body that stuck close to him: charging his pursuers sabre in hand, and he made them give way after which he retired slowly and with firmness. The whole army was retreating by this time, and all the Moguls had lost their honour and character, when Noor-ul-haffen-Qhan and Mahmed-aly-Qhan seeing the Vizir's elephant unaccompanied, cut their way to it with a few followers, and found that the Vizir had recovered from his swoon; the minister on recovering his senses ordered the music to play in token of victory, to try whether such a stratagem would not recall the troops, but it answered no purpose: finding that a panic had seized them all, he turned his elephant about, without having any one round his person, save those two officers, and two or three hundred Moguls and Hindostanies. After the Vizir's retreat, my father, who followed at a distance, seeing the field of battle empty, stopped to bring up some canon that seemed in tolerable order; and having exerted himself in calling together the dispersed people of the artillery, he arrived at night near the Vizir's quarters; none having remained in that field of battle, so long as himself; and it was midnight before he reached the Vizir's tent. The latter having ordered Noor-el-Haffen-Qhan to inquire after some medicines for his wound, was in a little time served; but it became necessary to make use of some fire. In the morning the Vizir quitted Marher where he had passed the night, and marched forwards, without hardly any baggage or any of the sutlers and other followers of the army: the ungrateful Moguls, after having fled from the enemy, had attacked their friends, and plundered most of those useful people; the rest had been set upon by the peasants, and made away with. Still on his departure from Marher, he found himself at the head of something like an army; and he continued his journey, untill he arrived upon the banks of the Djumnah, over against old Delhy, which is commonly called Shah-Djehan-abad; and where we shall leave him to see what use the Afghans made of their victory.

AHMED

AHMED-QHAN, after this victory over the Vizir, fancied himself able to conquer the two Provinces of A8d and Ilah-abad, which might have been said to be that minister's appanage. He sent his son Mahm8d-Qhan with a body of troops to the conquest of A8d, whilst himself undertook to take the castle of Ilah-abad, from Baca-ollah-Qhan, and Aly-c8ly-Qhan the Daghistany (72). Baca-ollah-Qhan is son of Merhamet-aly-Qhan, brother to the late Emir-Qhan, who had presented him with the fodjdary of Corrah, in the Viceroyalty of Ilah-abad. After his uncle's death, he had accepted the Vizir's invitation, and had attached himself to his person. He was then at Ilah-abad with Aly-c8ly-Qhan, a dependant of Seyd-Mahmed-Qhan, the deputy governor, and an ancient servant of Emir-Qhan's house, these two officers thinking it dishonorable to submit to a Bangash, quitted the city, where they had too few men to be able to make any defence, and shut themselves in the castle, which they both resolved to defend to the last extremity: they threw a bridge of boats over the Dujmna, under the walls of the fort, and thereby prepared themselves for receiving succours and provisions.

The Afghans
besiege and plun-
der Ilah-abad.

THERE happened to be then on the shores of the Ganga, and quite close to the castle of Ilah-abad (73), a certain Saniaffi-fakir, very brave, and well accompanied; who spent his time in his devotions to Maha-de8. This man shocked to see the ravages committed by the Afghans, he had without any invitation, resolved to join his cause to that of Baca-ollah-Qhan and of the others that were shut up in the castle; but although was requested to come within its walls, he constantly refused it, and contented himself with encamping with his brave slave-boys and his people

(72) Daghistan is a little mountainous province of Iran or Persia, inhabited by Sunni-turks or Tatars. It is so called from Dagh, which signifies mountain in the Turkish language.

(73) Ilah-abad, called by the Gentooes Prag and Priag, is a famous place for Gentoo worship; there is a Subterraneous chapel, where they shew a fallen tree that is in vegetation ever since Maha-De8 or the grand saint, that is the first man, who travelled thither from Cassi or the terrestrial Paradise, that is Banarefs. We have seen the stump of the tree, and at the first sight found it to be a Djigul: a tree which never dries, and the trunk of which altho' cut into ever so many chips, never fails to produce a tree, if planted. By counting our paces in and out of the cavern, we found, that the tree cannot be at forty paces distance from the Ganges, with which probably it has a subterraneous communication. The visiting that chapel, as well as the subsequent purification in the Ganges produce a great revenue to government. This tree and chapel are in the castle, much nearer the Ganges than to the Dujmna.

at a small distance from it. Every day he used to set out with the bravest of his people, all mounted on excellent mares, and gallop about the Afghan camp, from whence he never returned without having killed several of the bravest of the enemy, and brought away both their arms and horses with him; so long as the siege lasted he did not miss a single day, and always did some execution. The siege drew to a great length but without the enemy being able to make any impression; Baca-ollah-Qhan with his garrison, and the brave fakyr Radj Ender-gur with his brave troop, being resolved to make the most obstinate defence. But mean while the enemy's troops all composed of unbridled savage Afghans, and of sanguinary Rohilahs, fell upon the city of Ilah-abad, which was a large wealthy place, and set it on fire, after having plundered and sacked it leisurely. Four thousand matrons of the best Sëyd and Sheriff (74) houses of that unfortunate city, were led unveiled about the streets, and carried into captivity. But the quarter round the monument of Sheh-Afzol was spared, together with the suburb of Qhold-abad, which is wholly inhabited by Afghans. This was all that was performed by the Rohilah army; and but few of the Bangash collectors had been admitted over the flat country; when news came that the Vizir was coming. Ahmed-Qhan not pleased with this intelligence, quitted the siege, and repaired to his own country about Feroah-abad.

We have already observed that on that general's coming to Ilah-abad he had dispatched his son Mahm8d-Qhan with a body of troops, to conquer the country about A8d and Lucknow. The latter marched forwards, and on the nineteenth of the second Djemady in the year 1164, he encamped at a small distance to the west of the town of Belgram. Some Afghan troops immediately, according to the savage custom of that race of men, advanced on the suburbs, plundered some houses, and killed some people. But no sooner did such a violence become public, than the inhabitants of the town, who are

(74) The Seyds are those that descend from Hassan and Hossien the Prophet's grandsons by Aly; but a Seyd is he that has a Seyd for a father, whatever be his mother; A Sheriff is he that has a Seydany for his mother, whatever be his father; at least it is so in India.

mostly of Sheriff blood as well as soldiers of old standing, shocked at this disorder, fell upon the Afghans, repulsed them with slaughter, and brought home a couple of hundred heads of cattle from the out-skirts of the Afghan army. On seeing this Mahm8d-Qhan with a precipitation consonant to his age, and an inconsiderateness worthy of his nation, put his army under arms, and resolved to take the town: but this was not so easy; the inhabitants had cut trenches across their streets, fortified every quarter, and prepared themselves to give them a warm reception. In this crisis the magistrates and the principal men amongst them, some of whom had an acquaintance with the young general's father, interposed their mediation, and procured an accommodation, after which the tumult that had risen to a height, subsided at once. Mahm8d-Qhan having raised his camp, and advanced as far as Papa-mow, sent towards Lucknow one of his uncles with about twenty thousand horses and foot; and this general advanced towards that city with about five thousand cavalry. He encamped in the outskirts, and sent a cutwal to command in his name in the city. It must be observed that this city had been evacuated by all the dependants of the Vizir, on the first intelligence of their master's defeat; and that they had carried away the Vizir's family, and joined Baca-ollah-Qhan upon the road, with whom they had retired in the castle of Ilah-abad: As to the Moguls, every one of them, inhabitants of the city, had fled to some shelter, after having placed his property under the safeguard of Sheh-Müez-eddin-Qhan, a famous commander of whom we have said something in speaking of his heroical friend C8t8b-eddin-Mahmed-Qhan. The Sheh's friends were not pleased with the protection he afforded in his house and quarter to Mogul property; and they warned him that it would bring down upon him an inquiry from the Afghan government. The Sheh would not listen to such pusillanimous counsels, and continued to afford an asylum to the families and properties of as many as chose to take shelter in his house and quarter. But as the new cutwal had already commenced to oppress people, the Sheh who was sensible of this, thought it best to comply so far with the complexion of the times,

The Afghans spread into A8d, but are repulsed by the Inhabitants of Belgram and Lucknow.

as

as to go out of the city and make a visit to the Afghan commander, in order to put a stop to the cutwal's vexatious government. The Afghan received him with great regard and civility, and ordered that a general safety of person and property should be proclaimed all over the city. Whilst he was yet speaking, one of the general's friends, a man who wished for some tumult and confusion, said to him, *What are you doing now? the Lucknowians have beaten your Cutwal, and driven him away.* Sheh-Müez-eddin-Qhan answered immediately, that there was no man in the city mad enough to commit such an outrage; *I will go to town immediately,* said he, *and if I find that any one has committed an insolence, rest assured that I will chastize him as he deserves.* On this, he mounted and returned to the city; but he soon had several reasons for altering his mind: he reflected that the cutwal continued to oppress people, and that little trust was to be reposed in the promises or proclamations of an Afghan: seeing then how matters went, he assembled the nobles and the principal inhabitants, and represented to them, that the Afghans were known for a faithless race, on whose promises no reliance could be reposed with any safety; that to surrender to such savage people, would bring woeful consequences with it; and that for his part he saw no other party, but that of joining together, putting themselves upon their defence, and giving the Afghans a vigorous reception. Most of those present expressed their fears, and declined the association; but the others, sensible of the truth of what he had said, closed with his opinion, and armed themselves. C8rban-Aly, the choudry (72), a man of consequence amongst them, took care to gain to his party even those that seemed timorous; and he fortified several quarters. On observing so much warmth, Sheh-Müez-eddin-Qhan took a decisive part: he sold the jewels and plate of his family, and having made up a sum of money, he assembled the Sheh-zadians

(72) A Choudry is a small Zemindar or land-holder, and likewise the head of a clan or quarter, or set of men.—There is a large quarter at Lucknow wholly inhabited by Sheh-zadians that is men of Arabian blood, or men of Gentoos origin, but long ago turned Musulmen. The Gentoos in general get themselves circumcised on a Friday, and from thence forward are called Shehs. The Sheh-zadians of Lucknow are Mohametans these several hundreds of years, but still preserve that spirit of clan so remarkable in Gentoos. They are brave and united, and all Sunnis.

of Lucknow, whom he now exhorted to chastize the cutwal vigorously, and to turn him out of the city: the order was immediately executed. The Sheh after this, dressed a sensible Mogul in Iranian apparel, made him land in his house, as if he had come as cutwal by the Vizir's appointment, and he proclaimed at the tribunal of Police all over the town, that no authority should be acknowledged in the city, but that of the cutwal sent by the Vizir: he at the same time set up a green standard in the name of "The Lord of the Time" (75), and under it he took the oaths of the principal inhabitants, that they would stand by each other in defence of their wives, children, and properties, to the utmost of their power. The Afghan general hearing of this change of affairs, and that a cutwal had come from the Vizir, put his people under arms, prepared himself to sack the city; and he fell upon Ismail-Gundj, the eastern quarter of it. But about two hundred of the Sheh-zadians having run to the assistance of the inhabitants, an engagement ensued, in which the Afghans were driven away with great slaughter; nay the inhabitants sallied out upon them, took their canon and tents, and drove away another commander, who with a thousand horses had come over to share the expected plunder. Mahmed-Qhan, who was encamped on the ferry of Papamow, hearing of this affair, wanted to march in person against Lucknow: But Sheh-Muez-eddin-Qhan having sent him a message, that laid the whole blame of this affair upon the stupidity of his Afghans, and promised to come in person to give an account of it, and to address him upon other matters, he altered his resolution, and returned to his former encampment, where he was pitching his tents, when the runaways came in shoals and gave an exaggerated account of Muezz-eddin-Qhan's bravery and conduct, as well as of the ferocity and courage of the inhabitants of Lucknow, especially the Sheh-zadians. In a

(75) According to the Musulmen Shyahs, the Lord of the Times, is their twelfth Imam or Pontiff, Meh-di, who is not come yet, but will surely conquer all the world; which will then embrace the true religion, that is the Shyisme. He lived about thirty years, but finding himself obnoxious to the then reigning Qhalif, he disappeared, but is still living, although invisible, and will appear again at the end of the world to conquer all mankind and to convert it to the true sect, that is to the Imamisme, and of course to their own sect.

few days Muez-eddin himself arrived near the Afghan camp, and with such a multitude of horse and foot, as looked very much like an army.—Mahmed-Qhan, intimidated by his character for prowess and conduct, and not liking his appearance, thought proper to decamp, and retire. This retreat inspired the Sheh with so much confidence, that he turned away all the collectors which the Afghan's had spread all over the country, and he published an order to put to death immediately any armed Afghan that should be discovered; and this revolution in the A8d naturally brings us back to the Vizir, who had made an appanage of that country.

WE have left the Vizir at the ford of the Djumna: But some time before his arrival at this passage, the report of his defeat had spread every where; and had roused all those that were jealous of his power and fearful of his growing influence: The imbecile Emperor was of this number, as well as his intriguing mother, and all the grandees of the court, and above all the Eunuch, now stiled the valiant Navvab (76), who after taking possession of the Emperor's mind had now come forward with intention to govern the Empire, and acted already as a prime minister: all these had given tokens of their ill will, and they talked of seizing on the Vizir's palace, and of confiscating the vast property supposed to be in it. Nevertheless such was the idea they had conceived of his power and resolution, that they durst not put their design in execution, but waited until they should receive certain intelligence about his person. Hearing now that he was alive, and at hand they waited his coming into the city, anxious to see what figure he would cut after his defeat, that minister came at last; and it was soon seen by every one of them, that he would still prove a tough piece of work, and much above their strength: for even his consort (77), a daughter of Saadet-Qhan, and a woman of uncommon genius and courage, far from being dismayed by the reports of the Vizir's defeat and death, had exhorted her son (Shudja-eddo8lah,) and her dependants, and son in law, to act with

(76) Navvab Bahadyr was his title.

(77) This is Asuff eddo8lah's Grand-mother aged about one hundred years, and living at Aood upon some greens and four ounces of rice a day, in 1787. and this has been her diet these thirty years past.

firmness, and to repel force by force; and she had made a provision of troops, and of every thing necessary for a vigorous defence (75). The Vizir being arrived, soon heard of the intrigues and designs of his enemies; and he sent word not only to the Eunuch, but also to the Empress's mother, that *Abdul-Manfir's dead body was still better than another man's living one; and, believe me,* added he, *I am a more tough piece of work than you seem to apprehend.* Both these two persons denied their harbouring any unfavourable designs against him, and both accompanied their answers with excuses and with complaints: on which he seemed satisfied, being then engrossed by the thoughts of retrieving his character, and of revenging himself of the Afghans; he was consulting all those whom he thought to have much experience. One of these happened to be my uncle Seyd-abdol-ally-Qhan, an officer of great character, who having quitted Sadat-Qhan's service in Adjmir, was just come from that province: this officer pleased with that firmness conspicuous in the Vizir's character, often frequented his house. The Vizir who in perusing the dispatches from Adjmir had heard of his merit, once turned towards him, and asked what he thought of his expedition? Abdol-ally-Qhan answered, "You had a good army, my lord, in the last campaign, and can have as numerous one even now as you please; but victory does not always depend upon numbers and courage; and it would be proper that you should provide officers and commanders that have seen wars and engagements." *Who are these,* interrupted the Vizir, *Pray tell me?* At present replied Abdol-ally-Qhan, I recollect only Radja-Baht-Sing and some Marhatta generals. This advice he seemed to relish; and sending for Radjah Djigul-Kishvar, agent from Aly-Verdy-Qhan, Viceroy of Bengal, and for his own agent Radja-Lachmi-Narain, he directed them to bring Holkar-Malhar: mean

(75) The houses of great men at Shah-Djehan-abad, are all capable of defence: they are all of stone, to the very roof, the beams of which are of wood, although these also are often of stone; and they are surrounded by a lofty wall, secured by strong gates, every one of which having it's particular small yard, is a strong hold of itself. Moreover the roofs are flat, capable of bearing cannon; and the walls have battlements and barbicanes: each house stands by itself, and has wells, ponds, a large garden, and always provision for three months, and sometimes for six.

while

while Djaba with his son Djingoo, two Marhatta generals of great renown, having made their appearance, he desired them to enter into his service, and assigned to each a suitable pension. Sending likewise for Radja S8r8dj-mul, the Djatt, who was already in his service, he assigned him for his person and troops, fifteen thousand rupees a day, after having allowed both the Marhatta generals twenty five or thirty five thousand Rupees for the same space of time. This done he turned his attention towards providing a new stock of rockets, and ammunition, as well as every requisite for war, insomuch that in a little time he found himself stronger than he had been before. And in fact he was so very extraordinary a man, that hardly any one would believe the many resources of his credit and his genius, unless he had been of his confidence; nor has such another man appeared to this day. Any other general after such a total defeat, would have lost his mind, or fallen into despondence; without ever conceiving the thoughts of arising again, and presenting a threatening front.

In short, this minister having in a little time pitched upon the beginning of the first Djemady for reviewing his stores, quitted the capital in the year 1164, and marched to Acbar-abad, which is at seven journeys distant: from whence he detached the Mahratta generals with their twenty thousand horses, across the Djumnah against Shah-Dil-Qhan, who commanded for Ahmed-Qhan-Bangash, in Kevol and Djaliffer. The Marhattas having crossed the Djumna with their customary rapidity, fell upon the Afghans like a hurricane: The governor surprized, fled with all his might, and made his escape; but an infinity of Afghans were put to the sabre; and the Marhattas made a great booty in horses, elephants, camels, tents, and other articles. Ahmed-Qhan who was these four months intent on taking the castle of Ilah-abad, no sooner heard of Shah-dil-Qhan's defeat, than he raised the siege immediately; and putting himself at the head of his best troops, he with the wings of anxiety and perturbation hastened to Feroh-abad, which was his capital, and the residence of his family. He was hardly arrived, when the Marhattas, which composed the vanguard of the Vizir's army, followed, and finding

finding the gates shut up, they put every thing to fire and sword in the territory of that city. These ravages having given Ahmed-Qhan time to breathe, he came out and encamped at Husein-poor, a town at three cosses from Feroh-abad, and upon the Ganga, where he entrenched himself, as in a post which had such a river under its command, with the whole Rohilah country beyond it, and put it in his power to receive victuals and every kind of assistance from thence. The Marhattas mean while finding Feroh-abad empty of military force, rushed into it, and plundered it leisurely; and it was thus that Providence chastised the Afghans in retaliation for the sack of Ilah-abad. The plunder made in that rich mart is past all computation, and is more than I dare say. But it may be easily conjectured from this, that one single lump of precious stuffs was valued at sixteen lacs of rupees. The Marhattas had hardly finished their work, when the Vizir himself arrived with Radja S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt, and surrounded Ahmed-Qhan on all sides, the Ganga side excepted; a canonade ensued, and an infinity of canon balls and musquet bullets were exchanged between the two parties. But as the intrenched Afghans received by boats every kind of provision and assistance, the Vizir directed N8r-el-Hassen-Qhan, the Belgramite, to assemble a number of boats and to throw a bridge over the Ganga, intending to send over a body of troops. This work of the bridge was opposed by Mahm8d-Qhan, son to the Bangash, who was encamped on the other side of the river. Nevertheless it was soon finished; it was at Rampoor, which is at twelve cosses from Cannodje; and a quantity of large canon and a body of troops crossed over and joined N8r-el-hassen-Qhan. Mahm8d-Qhan sensible of the consequence of such a communication, made several efforts to ruin the bridge, but to no purpose; his own camp being so much incommoded by continual showers of canon-ball, that his post was hardly tenable. Two days after the bridge had been finished, a large body of troops had come to the assistance of the intrenched Afghans under the command of Saad-ollah-Qhan, eldest son to the late Rohilah; and this happened at the very time when the Vizir was sending some troops over the Ganga.

The Marhattas surprize and plunder Feroh-abad.

C c

Ahmed

Ahmed-Qhan's courage and hopes having been greatly raised at the sight of so powerful a succour, he quitted his entrenchment, as untenable, and joined Saad-ollah-Qhan, after which he gave battle to the Vizir; and a bloody one it proved to be. The Mahrattas attacked on one side, and on the other S8r8dj-mul, with his Djats, poured such an incessant fire on the enemy, as drew smoke from their breasts. The Afghans unable to stand so furious an attack, were thrown into disorder; and both Ahmed-Qhan and Saad-ollah-Qhan, after losing vast numbers of their men, turned about and quitted the field of battle, not thinking themselves safe but at a distance: but it was not without leaving ten or twelve thousand of their best men slain, wounded, or prisoners. A vast booty of elephants, tents, horses, cannon, and furniture, fell into the hands of the victors. The Vizir pursuing with ardor, and the Afghans continuing their flight, they both arrived at last at the foot of a chain of hills, separated by a narrow valley from the mountains of Camä8: a difficult country, covered with brush wood and brambles; where the Afghans being hemmed in by their pursuers, necessarily lost vast numbers of people from the badness of the water and the inclemence of the air, but chiefly from the want of victuals and the scarcity of every necessary for sustenance. Mean while the enemy over-ran the whole Rohilah country, and ruined it for years to come. This battle cost Mir-gh8lam-Nebi, the famous Belgramite poet, his life, and he went to join the chorusses of the angels in the boundless regions of eternity.

THE rainy season being already set in, and the Marhattas shewing a willingness to abide that season in the Afghan country, the Vizir in reward for the services they had performed, gave them the whole country from Nevol and Djaliffer down to Feroh-abad and Cannodj. Such a donation finished the Afghans: finding that nothing less than their total ruin was intended, they betook themselves to the humblest supplications; and turning the Marhattas and some other generals into mediators, they redeemed their lives from the Vizir's resentment: an accommodation took place, such as the Vizir was pleased to dictate. The city of Feroh-abad with its territory,

a tract that yielded a revenue of sixteen lacs a year, was left, out of compassion to Ahmed-Qhan and his family, as descendents of Mahmed-Qhan Rohila: some other districts which had been held in sovereignty by Aly-Mahmed-Rohila's family, were likewise left them, but under the stipulated promise of a full rent; and some others were confiscated. But the greatest part of those countries was given up to the Marhattas. The Vizir after this treaty, went to his government of A8d, and continued advancing as far as Banares, where he had much business to transact; and there as Pertiput, the zemindar of Partab-gur, a Gentoo prince of that neighbourhood, who had been in strict connections with the Afghans, ventured to pay him his respects, he was immediately put to death by Ali-Beg-Qhan, the Vizir's head Nissiqhchi, who had orders to cut off his head. It is now time to return towards the interior parts of the Empire.



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A TRANSLATION

A TRANSLATION
OF THE
SËIR MUTAQHERIN,
OR
VIEW OF MODERN TIMES, &c.

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D d

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- Singular appearance of a slain young man.*
- Shudjab-ed-dö8lab appointed Vizir to Ali-gober, now Shah-aalem.*
- Origin of the broils that gave rise to a war between the Mabratras and the*
English,—

English,—Nizam-ally avails himself of them to beat the Mabrattas into a very advantageous treaty.

Dissentions and several engagements between Madd8 Rão, the Mabratta ruler, and his uncle, Ragonat-Rão,—The latter attempts to take Aorengabad, and is vigorously repulsed.

Nizam-ally gives a finishing blow to the Mabratta power.

S8r8dj-mull, the prince Djatt, takes possession of Acbar-abad-agra, with its castle and royal furniture.



A TRANSLATION

A TRANSLATION OF THE SÈIR MUTAQHERIN,

O R

VIEW OF MODERN TIMES, &c.

SECTION II.

WE have said that the government of Adjmir had been conferred on the Vizir, as well as that of Acbar-abad; that minister having expressed a predilection for that of Ilah-abad, which bordered on his hereditary government of A8d. The viceroalties of Acbar-abad and Adjmir were bestowed on Sadat-Qhan. It was in the year 1161, answering to the first of Ahmed-Shahs reign. This change occasioned some strange events: Radja Baht-sing-Rhator, a Prince who to much merit and great military character, joined so much learning, that he had no equal amongst the Radjepoot Princes, availed himself of that change, to revive his claim upon the Dj8dëyp8r and other territories, that constituted a principality which had been in his family from ancient times, and which was now withheld by Radja Ram-sing, son to Abi-sing his nephew. With this view he came

E c

to

Troubles in
Adjmir.

to court, complained to the Emperor, and insinuated himself so well in Sadat-Qhan's mind, as to render him desirous of going into his government of Adjmir, where the Gentoo Prince offered an accession of revenue, on condition of his being righted. At the same time he set out for Nagor, the capital of his hereditary dominions, and was followed a few days after by Sadat-Qhan himself, who reckoned on his assistance, and brought with him about fifteen thousand horses, commanded by men of great characters; such as Aly-Rustem-Qhan, nephew to Mir-Mushreff; Hekim-Qhan, called the Qhobushki; Fateh-Aly-Qhan, alias the governor of Kevol, who received subsequently the surname of Sabut-Djung; Mahmed-Shudjah-Qhan, and Sëyd-abdol-Aly-Qhan: this last was my uncle, who having been, as we have said in the first volume, banished from the dominions of Bengal had come to the capital, where Sadat-Qhan had desired him to be his friend, and to accept the command of a body of four hundred horses; for he had brought with him his own horses, elephants, and equipage. Sadat-Qhan had with him also, Mir-aly-Afghar-C8bra, of whom we have spoken much in Aly-verdy-Qhan's history; lastly, Mubariz-Qhan, with a number of other persons of distinction. He passed the mourning days of the month of Moharrem at Pat8dy, and on the beginning of the year 1163, he arrived at a place called Nim-rani, in the Djatt country, where Radja S8r8dj-mull had raised a small mud fort, in which he kept a certain number of men. Some of Sadat-Qhan's people having picked up a quarrel with those of the fort, drove them away; and it was upon such a mighty success that the new Viceroy ordered his music to play in token of victory: after which getting into his tent, he resolved to halt there. In the morning, as every one expected that he would pursue his intended journey to Narnöul in Adjmir, where he had ordered his equipage to proceed; the thoughtless Viceroy, who carried a head without brains, countermanded it at once, and abandoning the original scheme upon Adjmir, he turned his views wholly upon settling the government of Acbar-abad, and quarrelling with S8r8dj-mull the Djatt; Nor would he hear of any thing else. Aaly-R8ftem-Qhan, who

Sadat-Qhan
marches against
the Radj8ts of
Adjmir, and is
worsted.

who had two thousand horses of his own, together with Fateh-aly-Qhan, who had seven hundred, were at the head of his vanguard, and had already proceeded on their march, when they were countermanded, and sent for to a council of war; to which were likewise summoned Hekim-Qhan, who commanded the right wing, at the head of two thousand horses; and Mubarez-Qhan, who, with an equal number, commanded at the left; and also Seyd-abdol-aaly-Qhan, and Mir-aly-Afghar-C8bra, now stiled Mumtaz-Djung. All these, surpris'd at this sudden change, were unanimous in their opinions: "They represented that to pick up a quarrel with the Djatt was
"improper; but that it would be very proper to go on with the original pro-
"ject of taking first of all possession of Adjmir, where Abi-sing had offered
"his assistance and an addition of revenue, and where he was already ar-
"rived, to make his preparatives: that by pursuing that scheme, they
"would put to a trial the quality of their troops, and would also infuse
"confidence in them, by such a successful expedition: that this project
"being once accomplished, it would be then time to think of bring-
"ing to order the country of Acbar-abad; and likewise, that here too Baht-
"Sing's assistance and advice would prove useful; after which it would be-
"come an easy matter to bring S8r8dj-mull himself to order." This advice was good, but the ignorant governor was inflexible; and he immediately sent dromedaries to bring back his baggage; a counter-order which those officers were obliged to comply with, and also to forward to others; but it was noon-day before they would come back. The army was ordered to proceed to Soba-chund's Karavanferah, where the Viceroy passed the night. The next morning, he commanded the men of his equipage to set out with Fateh-aly-Qhan and his corps, and to make a grand forage. The Djatts informed of this, presented themselves in force, and the Radja himself followed with so much expedition that both armies were in sight at noon. By this time Fateh-aly-Qhan had sent word that both forage and grain had been laden in quantities, and were ready; but that bodies of Djatts were making their appearance, and rendering the march of the convoy impracticable,
unless

unless some other commanders were sent to his assistance. R8stem-aaly-Qhan was immediately ordered on that service with his corps; but before he could arrive the greatest part of the day was already spent; so that Hekim-Qhan-Qhoshbuki, who had been all this while desirous of a quarrel with the Djatts, thinking his honor concerned in this delay, followed him immediately, without being ordered. He had with him as many of his cavalry as were at hand, about seven hundred in all; but by this time there remained no more than two hours of day-light. Hekim-Qhan seeing this, sent word to Aly-R8stem-Qhan, that night was coming; and that it would be better to return. The latter answered, that Fateh-aly-Qhan was more advanced than him, and that if he could prevail upon him to come back, himself (Aly-R8stem-Qhan) would follow. After having said so much, he galloped up to him, and both joining together, went to Fateh-aly-Qhan, to whom they proposed a retreat; the other, becoming prouder by the invitation, answered, that they might retreat first, and that he would follow: they represented, they entreated: it did not avail. The two commanders, seeing his obstinacy, resolved to stay likewise, although the sun was setting; and they sent word to the Viceroy that the Djatt army was in sight, and so near, as to render a retreat dangerous by night; but that they proposed to pass it upon the spot, in expectation that he, their general, would march immediately with the army to their relief. Instead of that, the obstinate ignorant Sadat-Qhan sent them word to retreat and come back. They obeyed. It soon became dark; and those men that had been exposed to the heat of the whole day, without either victuals or drink, were hastening to their camp, whilst those that were raw troops and had not yet seen any firing, were endeavouring to distance the others. The cannon moreover was ordered to march in front, lest it should be set upon in the dark, and fall into the hands of the enemies. The Djatts observing the confusion in which they marched, followed them, and coming close in small distinct bodies, they commenced an incessant fire upon them, without quitting their horses. On this Aaly-R8stem-Qhan's elephant growing unruly, Hekim-Qhan approached

proached him, and after many efforts and repeated attempts, he at last found means to draw him upon his own elephant; he was hardly seated, and the elephant was rising, when Hekim-Qhan received a musket-ball in the throat, and fell dead instantly. Another bullet wounded Aly-Roostem-Qhan: the flight now became general, numbers were slain, and numbers being wounded; the survivors reached Sadat-Qhan's camp, which they filled with confusion and fear: the general himself became fearful, and was confounded. And now the advanced troops of the enemy appeared in sight, and setting up a war cry, they struck up such a panic in Sadat-Qhan's breast, that he wanted to get away, and to make his escape, had not Mir-aly Afgar-C8bra and his other commanders stopped him with threats, and obliged him to stay by main force; keeping so careful an eye upon him, that he could not move. Luckily that the Djatt Prince, having risen only in his own defence, did not choose to abide the consequence of seizing or killing a lord of lords; and that he contented himself with besieging the camp for two or three days together; at the end of which he sent proposals by the canal of Fateh-aly-Qhan, an officer with whom he was acquainted: these having been accepted with a great deal of joy, S8r8dj-Mul sent his own son, Radja-Djevaher-Mull, who paid a respectful visit to Sadat-Qhan, and concluded an agreement on several conditions: two of which were, that the dependants of the lord of lords should not cut any Pipol-Tree (1), nor offer any insult or injury to the temples of the country, or to any object of their worship and veneration: these and some other conditions being agreed to, Sadat-Qhan signed the ignominious treaty. Radja-S8r8dj-Mull added, that should the Viceroy promise upon oath not to advance farther than Narnöul, he would himself follow the army, and be assisting in that expedition, with his person and advice; in which case, he would undertake to bring the Radjpoots of those

(1) The Pipol tree, is, as well as the Berr, or Burr, the Branian tree; and an object of veneration; and the *Deus terminus* of India. Both trees serve for marking boundaries; both are milky, stem and leaves; both drop from their branches tendrils that reach the ground, and become so many new trees supporting the widely extended branches of their parent stock; and both in the original stem look rather like a group of trees folded together, than like one trunk of a single tree. Both produce a red fruit exactly like a small European fig, but nearly insipid, and which serves only to fatten green Pigeons, Parrots, and Monkeys.

parts to an accommodation; by which they would oblige themselves to the payment of fifteen lacs, which he would take upon himself.

It was after such a ridiculous campaign, and such an infamous accommodation, that Sadat-Qhan quitted the Djatt country, to resume his expedition towards Narnö81. He was all the while accompanied by the Radja at the head of his Djatts, who always encamped at two or three cosses distance, in such a manner that messages and agents were continually exchanging on both sides; and in this manner they arrived on the neighbourhood of Narnö81, where Baht-Sing, came to pay his respects to the Viceroy. On hearing of the shameful treaty lately concluded with the Djatts, he expressed his surprize and detestation, and proposed to him to recover his honour by marching against the Radj8ts of Adjmir; that is, by supporting his own projects. This advice having been approved by Sadat-Qhan, it gave offence to the Djatt-Prince, who saw how matters went, and took his leave and returned to his own country; leaving Sadat-Qhan at liberty to pursue his expedition. That Viceroy being now arrived near Adjmir, marched on rapidly for twenty cosses; and by Baht-Sing's advice he took possession of the Gocul-Gaut, a difficult passage, which is near the city of Adjmir. But Radja-Ram-Sing was soon on the other side of the pass: this Prince, better known under the name of Docul Sing, had with him the Radja-Af-firi-Sing, son to Radja-Dehiradj-Djehi-Sing-Seväi, and both were at the head of an army which could not be less than thirty thousand horses, with a numerous artillery, and every necessary requisite for war. So great a superiority did not damp Sadat-Qhan's eagerness: this Viceroy, after spending some days at Adjmir in expectation of being joined by Radja-Baht-Sing, made haste to come out: the first days march was to Boorigur, the second to the little mud-fort of Shir-sing, the third to Mirta, and the fourth to a place called Pi-Bar; in which last march the two armies had a fight of each other. They had set out on both sides with intention to fight; and Baht-Sing had informed Sadat-Qhan, that it was not proper to part with him or to march on as he did, as the enemy had planted all his cannon on that side.

Sadat-

Sadat-Qhan, who had never in his whole life listened to any sober advice, was so senseless as to observe, "*that men did not turn about after having once marched in another direction;*" and he went on as he had commenced. Baht-Sing, seeing his obstinacy, left him, and marched on; but flanking from the front, where he knew so much cannon to have been planted. The Radjp8ts who had passed the night close to their cannon, seeing Sadat-Qhan's troops advance so inconsiderately, kept themselves quiet and in silence, until the enemy had come within reach; when they let fly such a shower of cannon and musket balls, as did a great deal of execution in the enemy's ranks where vast numbers were slain; this discharge was but faintly returned by Sadat-Qhan's people, who were already in confusion. It was already noon-day; the sun shone with intolerable ardor, and the canon and musquets became so hot that there was no handling any of them; a cessation of arms, as if by common consent, took place.—Sadat-Qhan's men, pressed by thirst, in a country where water is scarce, dispersed every where; and numbers approached inadvertently close to the Radjp8ts in search of that refreshment. The Radjp8ts perceiving their distress, the parchedness of their faces, and the lolling of their tongues, had the generosity to send people to shew them some springs hidden in the sand; and these men, after having refreshed plentifully both man and horse, would carry them back to the spot where they had taken them up, and would dismiss them with these words: *Be gone, and avaunt! for now we are enemies again.* The sudden cessation on both sides, and the assistance given so timely by the Radjpoots, hath something odd and incredible in it, but they are however completely well attested. I put the question to several officers and others that had been relieved in that manner, and amongst others, to Seyd Ismäil Aly-Qhan, son to my uncle Abd8l-Aly Qhan; and he, as well as the others, always answered in the affirmative. Nor is it but upon such a strong testimony, that I have thought this particular worthy of a place in this history. This behaviour of the Radjp8ts does them a deal of honor; but such a generosity is in their character.

Sadat Qhan's
troops ready
to perish with
thirst.

Relieved by
the singular ge-
nerosity of the
Radjp8ts.

May

May God Almighty please to infuse such benevolent inclinations in the hearts of all the nations of the World!—for he is the source of all power and all mercifulness!

THIS spot is not far from the mountains of Dj8dēyp8r, not above twenty or thirty cosses distance, or at most three days journey. Sadat Qhan desirous to get out of such a critical spot, and unable moreover to go on with the expences of an expedition that produced no resource, at a time too when the rainy season was at hand; resolved to make an accommodation, and to return to Adjmir, and so on to the Capital. In vain did Baht-Sing represent “ That this expedition was more important than any thing to be
 “ compassed in the Capital; that the Princes of that country, being the
 “ noblest of all the Radjp8ts, and such as were acknowledged for having
 “ reigned in time of yore all over Hindostan, the bringing them under subjection would not only greatly redound to his honour, and engage the other Zetions
 “ mindars to submit of their own accord, but would in time produce such fruits
 “ as would surpass his utmost expectations: in vain did he add, that so soon
 “ as the country of Adjmir should be subdued, his character enhanced in
 “ the eyes of men by such an expedition, would be greatly conducive in
 “ bringing to terms the Djatt S8r8dj-Mul, and in reducing to controul
 “ the country about Acbar-abad:” all those reasons produced no change in his mind! and this is the more unaccountable, as Baht-Sing had during this whole expedition proved of great service, notwithstanding the junction effected between the Marhattas commanded by Malhar’s son and the enemy; for he had all along supplied the army with necessaries, and had exhibited much wisdom and a variety of talents, in occasionally extricating it from its difficulties. Finding that Sadat-Qhan was bent on an accommodation, he kept himself at home, without interfering any more. The Marhatta-general likewise took his leave of Ram-Sing and of Affir-Sing’s son, and went home. Sadat-Qhan having by treaty received three lacks of rupees, suffered the rest to be put off in a variety of installments, consisting of money and effects; which were to be paid so much at such a place, and so much at another. After this treaty,

treaty, he quitted Peïpar, and arrived at Adjmir; at which place my uncle, Seyd-Abdol-Aly-Qhan, being sensible of Sadat-Qhan's levity and want of understanding, resigned his service, and took his leave; but as he had run himself in debt in a service which yielded nothing that year but a prospect of preferment, he was obliged to sell his elephants and some of his furniture, in order to pay his troops and his creditors; after which he returned immediately to Shah-Djehan-abad, where hearing that the Vizir was gone on an expedition against the Afghans, he only tarried three days in that capital, and marched out to join him; and he was already advanced to Kevol when he met some of the runaways of the Vizir's army. The Vizir himself arrived the next day. Abdol-Aly-Qhan having found here an opportunity of paying that Minister his respects, returned with his retinue to the Capital; where on being asked his advice a few days after, he proposed taking into his service Radja Baht-Sing, as well as the two Marhatta-generals.

As to Sadat-Qhan, after spending one year and some months in that fruitless expedition, he arrived at the Capital in the beginning of the year 1164; and as he had lost his character in that expedition, where he had carried little money and numerous troops, he was, on his return, perpetually reproached and insulted by those people, who insisted upon being paid their arrears. Becoming contemptible by so many repeated assaults and insults, he had the folly to expect a supply of money from the Emperor; and as he was not heard, he had the imprudence to mention the Emperor's name, as well as that of Djavid-Qhan, his favourite, in terms of disrespect; making so little secret of his sentiments when at home, that they became the constant topic of his conversation: not satisfied even with that, he in a fit of passion, resolved to go to court and to get himself righted, happen what it would: he mounted his horse, and taking his spear in his hand, he got within the palace, and attempted to go as far as the Emperor, to whom he intended to represent his grievances in an angry tone of voice.—

Sadat - Qhan
returns to Court
in disgrace, and
is dismissed the
service.

Djavid-Qhan, the superintendant of the hall of audience, seeing in what

G g

plight

plight he was, requested him not to appear in the Emperor's presence. The other finding himself obstructed, vented his resentment both against his Majesty and the Eunuch, in such terms as came uppermost, and after that, he returned home: but he was hardly landed, when a body of soldiers came to confiscate his property. And thus from the summit of honour and affluence, he fell in a little time into the greatest contempt and distress. His title of "Lord of Lords" was bestowed on Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, eldest son to the late Nizam-el-Mulk: who received the Qhylaath of it the next day; and Sadat-Qhan, deprived of every thing, went to live in obscurity and oblivion. It is time for us now to resume the narrative about the affairs of Decan.

Nassyr-eddo8-
lah, alias, Nasr-
Djung, overawes
the Marhattas by
the firmness of
his Government

NASSYR-DJUNG-NASR-EDDÖALAH, second son and successor of Nizam-el-Mulk, was a young man of talents, of much natural genius, and much bravery. To his capacity for government, he joined a cultivated understanding, being fond of poetry, and often composing himself; and although raised so young to the pinnacle of power, he early exhibited a number of good qualities. He even commanded as his father's deputy, when the latter died of a looseness. As soon as he had assumed the administration in his own name, he marched against the Marhattas, and beat them so often, that he taught them to fear his person and to respect his dominions, as we shall soon explain in the following sheets. The dread of his power and his valor had so far taken possession of their hearts, that they did not dare to move out of their own country, during his life time: nor have we any instance of their having been kept in awe by any one so much as by him. Having been commanded to the presence by the Emperor Ahmed-shah, in the year 1162, he had advanced as far as the Nerbedda at the head of a numerous cavalry, when a counter-order came, with which he complied the more willingly, as his cousin Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan was pretending to independence. He therefore turned about, and marched against him with seventy thousand good horses, and one lac of infantry.

MUDI-

MUHI-EDDIN-QHAN, surnamed Muzafer-Djung, or the "Victorious in War," descended from Saad-ollah-Qhan, Vizir to Shah-Djehan; and was son of a daughter of Nizam-el-Mulk's, in whose life time he had enjoyed the Viceroyalty of Bidjapoor, for several years together. But as soon as his uncle was dead, and he heard that his successor, Nasr-djung, had advanced as far as the Nerbedda with the flower of his troops, he availed himself of the opportunity to assume independence. With this view, he attached to himself Husein-dost-Qhan, alias Chenda-Sahab, a man of importance in the Carnatic, whose family cut a principal figure in the city of Arcat; and the latter exhorted him to render himself master of that province. This country was these many years governed by Anver-eddin-Qhan, surnamed Shahamet-Djung, or the "Valiant in War," a native of Gopamã8, who had been appointed to the office of Nazem or military governor by Nizam-el-Mulk himself. Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan having assembled a mighty army from the French of P8lcherry (2), with whom Chenda-Sahab had made a treaty, attacked Anver-eddin-Qhan, and after a battle in which this governor exerted himself like a brave man, defeated him intirely. It was on the sixteenth of Shaaban in the year 1162. Nasyr-Djung who was then at Aorengabad, hearing of this event, resolved to chastise his couzin; and although that Capital is at no less than five hundred measured coffes (3) from the sea-coast, on which is seated the town of P8lcherry, he hastened thither on the wings of expedition and resentment; and so early as the sixth of the second Rebi, in the year 1163, he engaged Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan, and totally defeated him; the victory was at first disputed, but the zephyr of Divine assistance was at last pleased to blow upon Nasyr-Djung's drooping standards: Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan was taken prisoner; and the victorious prince, finding that the rainy season was at hand, took up his winter-quarters at Arcat. He had in

Marches against the French of P8lcherry, and is slain by a conspiracy.

(2) This mighty army from P8lcherry consisted in seven hundred French, and about two thousand Sepahis, which compared to the English Sepahis of these days, both in stature, arms, and discipline, were but a rabble. There seems to be some words wanting in the text, for the revolted had a numerous army of their own besides their French.

(3) A measured coffe is more than two English miles,

his

his army a body of Afghans settled in the Carnatic, and commanded by Himmet-Qhan, and some other officers of that nation: those ungrateful wretches, forgetful of the favours conferred upon them by both the father and son, and unmindful of the gratitude and attachment they owed him in return, conceived the design of stripping their lord both of his treasures and dominions; and joining with the prince's prisoner, and the French of P8lcherry, they on the seventeenth of Muharrem, according to astronomical computation, and the sixteenth according to the vulgar one, fell on that Prince's quarters at midnight, and filled them with confusion and disorder. Himmet-Qhan, who had always professed himself his zealous servant, having advanced to him with a musquet in his hand, fired at his breast, and laying him at his feet, he sent that mighty Prince to the regions of nothingness. It was in the year 1164 of the Hedjrah. After this the camp was nothing but a scene of confusion and dismay and mistrust; but some of those personally attached to that unfortunate Prince, took up his body, and carried it to Aoreng-abad, where they buried it in the garden of Saint-Burhan-eddin, the Arabian, close to the tomb of his father, Nizam-el-Mulk. The Poet Mir-gh8lam-Aly, the Belgramite, who had lived upon terms of friendship and intimacy with him, and had enjoyed great offices in his court, has drawn his chronogram in these verses:

“ The illustrious Navvab, that great lover of justice, is gone.

“ The sword of destiny did not give him time to display his great talents—he went away so soon;

“ He was martyred the seventeenth of Muharrem,

“ And the afflicted Poet has discovered his chronogram in these words:—The sun is gone, raise your lamentations and weep! (4).

Is succeeded by
his Cousin He-
daïet-MuhiQhan

THE hand that wrote the events of Nassyr-Djung's life in heaven, having so suddenly closed its book, Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan, from being kept a close prisoner, assumed the ensigns of royalty, and displayed the standard of command and dominion. Taking with him a body of French,

(4) This is an allusion to the custom of India, where lamentations always cease at sun-set, to begin again at day-break.

and

and the ungrateful Afghans, he set out from P8lcherry for Haïder-abad. But the supreme Avenger had already sown the seeds of retribution for the murder of Nassyr-Djung; and they had taken so deep a root, that both the new Prince and the Afghans harboured already the utmost distrust and resentment (4) against each other. The former had even taken measures with the French for destroying the Afghans, and especially Himmet-Qhan the Carnatican; so that on the seventeenth of the first Rebi, exactly two months after Nassyr-Djung's murder, at a time when the army was encamped at Lacra-pilly, and seemed to have hidden the whole earth under the immense extent of its tents, the new Prince suddenly mounted his elephant, with an intention to attack the Afghans, and to make an end of them. Himmet-Qhan, who was upon his guard, advanced to meet him at the head of a numerous body of his own countrymen; and it happened that by a particular disposition of a watchful providence, which sought to avenge Nassyr-Djung's murder, both the perpetrators, that is Himmet-Qhan and Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan, were slain in the engagement. Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan is the first in India who sought assistance from Nazareans (5), and who by introducing those strangers into his dominions ruined his own family. There was then in the army a certain Ramdass, a black Brahman of Sicacol, who had enjoyed a small pay in some of Nassyr-Djung's offices; and this man who had the merit of having successfully intrigued with the French, and procured the death of Nassyr-Djung, had been taken into favor by the new Prince, and made a prime minister, and honored with the surname of Radja Ragonat-das; this man came now to cut an important figure. As to Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan he was fond of study and knowledge, and was versed in books; but he made a parade of

(4) Part of that resentment was on account of their having plundered the treasury so effectually, that there remained nothing for the payment of the troops: Insomuch that the prime minister, Ramdass, to conceal that penury, filled the chests with bags of copper money.

(5) Christians: this is their name all over the East; nor had they any other for a century and a half, altho' some Antiochians to distinguish themselves from the Hellenist Jews, assumed the name of Christians. But this word was taken up only by those that spoke Greek; those that spoke Syriac and Hebrew, or Arabic, continued to call themselves Nazareans; nor had they in Arabia six hundred years after, any other name; nor have they any other to this day.

his learning, and his friends have praised him too much. During that two days reign of his, Baladjirão, the Mahratta, had marched from Poona to Aorengabad with a numerous army, which Shâh-Nevaz-Qhan, the governor of that country, found means to fend back by a present of fifteen lacks of rupees.

HEDAIET-MUHI-EDDIN-QHAN, having lost his life in expiation of Nassyr-Djung's murder, and Himmet-Qhan with his Afghans, those sworn enemies of Nizam-el-Mulk's offspring, having been sent to roam in the desert of nothingness, Ramdas, who had assumed the office of deputy general, and had the French in his party, raised to the throne Sëyd-Mahmed-Qhan, surnamed Selabet-Djung, or the "Stedfast in Battles," third son of Nizam-el-Mulk; the new Prince immediately on his accession attached to his service both Ramdas and the French, with whom he marched to Aorengabad, where he passed the rainy seasons; and on the return of the fair weather he marched out with an intention to chastise Baladjirão for his late invasion. With that view he assembled his troops at Ahmed-nagor, from whence he continued his route directly to Poona; Baladjirão, without suffering him to come so far, meet him half way with an army of fifty thousand horses, but was defeated; at which time the French with their quick musquetry and their expeditious artillery drew smok from the Marhatta breasts. Selabet-Djung after that victory ruined and devastated the whole country as far as Poona, where a greater engagement took place on the beginning of the year 1765. It was in Muharrem, in which whole month the moon had remained eclipsed; and the Marhattas, together with their general, having being endlessly busy in performing the religious duties enjoined on such a particular phænomenon, they were set upon in the night, with so much success, that they lost a vast number of men, which the French consumed in shoals at the fire-altars of their artillery. Baladjirão, who was actually busy at his devotions, and naked, had hardly time to throw himself on an unsaddled mare, on which he saved his life, by flying with all his might.

The

The implements of his worship (6) which were all of gold, fell in the hands of both the Musulmen and the Nazareans. But notwithstanding this mighty victory, such was the spirit of division that had seized Nizam-el-Mulk's family and army, that the victorious Selabet-Djung, so far from reaping any fruit from this victory, was himself in imminent danger, and on the point of succumbing.

As the army on its return was marching over the plain of Paleki, on the tenth of the first Djamady of the year 1165, the prime Minister Ramdas, was set upon by some troops, and killed outright (7). Selabet-Djung continued his journey to Haider-abad, from whence he sent for Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, whom he invested with the office of prime minister, and of his lieutenant-general. The new Minister was going to apply to the duties of that important station, when sudden intelligence came that the Prince of Princes, Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, having obtained the investiture of all the Soobahdaries of Decan, was coming at the head of a mighty army. On this intelligence, Shah-Nevaz-Qhan left a deputy to execute his office, and departed for Kermla, the residence of Djanodji-Salhar, a Marhatta Prince of the Barar: the intention of this sudden voyage was to engage that Prince, and likewise Baladjirao, who had been in connection with the minister so early as the times of Nizam-el-Mulk, to mediate an accommodation between Selabet-Djung and his competitor, who had amongst his troops a large body of Marhatta cavalry, commanded by Holkar-Malhar. On Shah-Nevaz-Qhan's departure from Haider-abad, Semsam-eddö8lah was invested with the government of that capital: but Ghazi-eddin-Qhan (8), suddenly dying at Aorengabad, Holcar-Malhar, who had got from him the

(6) A man who has seen in Europe a Cabinet of Roman Antiquities, is very much surprized when he beholds the like Patenes, like Cimbals, libation-vessels, fire places, and bells, used by the Gentoos in their devotions in India. &c.

(7) He was killed by an Afghan officer, who had asked his arrears in a haughty tone of voice, and on whose face he made as if he spit: the other complained to his countrymen; and the next day they broke upon the Minister in his paleky, where they hacked him to pieces, for his having attempted, (being a Gentoo) to spit in the face of a Mussulman.

(8) He was an old impotent man; and his youthful-brother, Selabet-Djung, intrigued so much with his elder brother's Ladies, that they poisoned him and brought him to a sudden death.

gift of the whole country of Qhandefs, Sunk-mer, and Djalima, obtained from Selabet-Djung a confirmation of the grant, and proved the only man that had benefited by those mighty troubles. After this, Shah-Nevaz-Qhan quitted Kermla and joined his master, who had advanced near Aoreng-abad to fight his brother and rival; there he re-assumed his office of lieutenant-general, sent back Semfam-Eddö8lah to Haider-abad; and as the rainy season was approaching, both the Prince and the minister took up their winter quarters in that city.

It was in this year 1164, that Radja-Affiri-Sing, son to Radja-Adjet-Sing-Seväi departed this life, and a report spread that he had been poisoned. The Rana of Oodeipour died at the same time. It is also in this same year that Nassyr-Djung, having been attacked by the French in the night, was in the confusion murdered by his ungrateful Afghan soldiers; and this intelligence reaching the court at the end of the year, his elder brother, Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, took mourning for him, and being sent for to court, was complimented with a Qhylaät to that effect. As he was extremely displeased with the court, he resolved to assume the government of the whole Decan, and to make his residence there; but the Ministers insisted upon a present. This affair took up some days, when it was accomplished; and the Qhylaät of that mighty Viceroyalty having been bestowed upon him, he departed to take possession, as we have already said.

AFTER having given in this manner some account of the troubles in Decan, let us cast our eyes on those that arose on the affairs of Hindostan. In the year 1165 Ahmed-Shah, the Abdaly, came into that country for the fourth time, and marched towards Lahor. But the Viceroy Mir-Mann8, Alias-Muäien-el Mulk, being informed of his coming, was before-hand with him; and not only resisted his attacks for four months together, but several times came out and drove him to a distance: insomuch that the Abdaly Prince became sensible that there was no going farther. But jealousy and inner divisions, that bane of all Hindostani affairs, defeated so much resolution and so much good conduct. Adina-beg-Qhan by his eternal treacheries

eries ruined this brave nobleman also; and Radja C8ramul, his Divan, a man really attached to his master, having been slain, all went to wreck after his death; and Mir-mann8 was overcome, as we are going to explain. The repeated engagements between the two parties, had already lasted four months, when Adina-beg-Qhan, who intended treason under the mask of friendship, persuaded the Viceroy that it was now time to quit his entrenchment, and to advance in the plain. C8ramul opposed this advice, and was of opinion that they ought to remain as they were three or four days more, after which the Abdali wanting provisions, and already tired of so bloody and so fruitless an expedition, would retire of his own accord. This was the wisest step; but the Viceroy prompted by his own ardor and courage, listened to the importunities of Adina-beg-Qhan, and coming out of his post he advanced towards the Abdali camp, and in his way stopped at some lofty ground covered with brick-kilns, where he had planted his cannon; but this cannon after one discharge was found to want ammunition, whilst a large number of camels, each loaded with a couple of Zemberecks or Swivels, of one pound-ball, came from the Abdali's side; and by Adina-beg-Qhan's advice, opened upon the the Hindostanies; the Abdalies at the same time made an attack upon the camp. In this emergency Adina-beg-Qhan proposed to call Radja C8ramul with a body of troops from the intrenchment; the latter sent for answer that yesterday he had opposed the Viceroy's going out, and now he was afraid that should he move from his post, the soldiers, on seeing the back of his elephant, would think it a flight, and would possibly follow; an error which would be enough to bring on a defeat. As the Viceroy found himself pressed, repeated orders were sent to C8ramul to come. C8ramul surprised and afflicted at the preciseness of the order, assembled his commanders, and having recommended to them firmness and resolution, he mounted his elephant, and went towards his master. He had hardly advanced one coss from camp, when he perceived that those very commanders whom he had just been haranguing, were in motion for a flight, with all their troops in the

Mir-Mann8
betrayed and de-
feated.

greatest disorder: straight he returned back, and putting himself at the head of a few troops that made a stand, he repulsed the Abdalies; and he was following them out of the entrenchment, when he was struck by a musquet-ball that obliged him to surrender his soul to his Maker. This man was his master's universal agent, and the very soul of the Army,—on seeing him fall, soldiers and officers took to flight; and the Viceroy having returned to the city, sent the Mufsi Abdollah to make an accommodation, in which it was agreed that Mir-mann8 should wait on Ahmed-Shah-Abdalie; this being agreed to, the latter sent Djehan-Qhan, an officer of distinction, to bring him to his camp, which commission this officer executed with the utmost deference and respect. The Shah received the Viceroy with the utmost kindness, made use of mild expressions to console him, and having appointed him his deputy and lieutenant both in Lahor and M8ltan, he returned towards Cab8l and Candahar, two places that had become the capitals of his dominions, and the places of his residence. From that day those two rich Provinces of Pendjab (10) and M8ltan were severed from the Empire of Hindostan, and added to the new monarchy of the Abdalies.

Is well used by
the Victors.

WHILST the Abdaly king was stopped short by Mir-Mann8, he sent an Ambassador to the Court of Dehli: it was Calender-Qhan. This step having made impression on the court of Dehli, which became apprehensive that the Abdalies would soon come upon the capital, the ministers wrote repeatedly to Ab8l-Man88r-Qhan, the Vizir, to take the Marhatta Malhar with him, and to return to court, with the utmost expedition. The Vizir having sent for Malhar, engaged him under promise of a mighty sum, to make the campaign with him; and he returned with his army, and with that general to the capital. But mean while Djavid-Qhan, the eunuch, who now acted as prime minister, finding himself supported by a party of treacherous grandees, all jealous of the fresh accession of glory which the Vizir might gain a second time, made haste to clap up a peace with Calender-Qhan; and having granted him all his demands, as well as the cession of Pendjab and M8ltan,

The Court eunuchs submit to an humiliating Treaty with the Abdalies.

(10) Pandj-ab, Pente-potamia.

he quickly dismissed him from the capital. The Vizir being arrived after this treaty, was shocked at so shameful a compromise, and at so much precipitation. In his resentment and indignation, he refused to come into the city, and encamped on the other side of the Djumna. He afterwards sent word to the ministers, that it was at their requests that he had brought the Marhatta Malhar with his whole cavalry, under promise of a mighty sum of money; and now that they had rendered that assistance unnecessary, who was to satisfy the Marhatta's claims? Such a requisition could not but embarrass them; but they were rescued out of their difficulties by a lucky event. Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, who had put on his Qhyla at for the Viceroyalty of all the Decan, was stopped short by the ministers, who previously insisted on a Pishcush or present, which the other wished to avoid. It was at this time that the Vizir sent his message, and put it in the Viceroy's power to avail himself now of the difficulties under which the court laboured, in order to carry his point. He sent them word that if they would give him his patents without delay, he would undertake to satisfy Malhar's demands, and would also take that general with him. The proposal being accepted, he appointed his own son as his deputy at court, took Malhar with him, and departed for his new government.

AFTER this departure, the Vizir entered the city, but took up his abode in his own palace (11). Here he was greatly discontented, and shocked to see an eunuch, like Djavid-Qhan, dictate in all matters of state, and govern the Emperor's mind; and could by no means agree that such a man should have made a peace that dishonoured the Empire, by giving up two important provinces, which had left open a large breach for the enemies incursions into the heart of Hindostan: he was likewise jealous of the omnipotence of the Empress's mother and of her eunuch, shocked at their meddling with every affair of state, and uneasy at their being both leagued against him.

The Vizir incensed at so shameful a compromise.

(11) As grand master of the Artillery, he had the command of the Citadel; and as superintendant of Gh81-ghana, or bathing place, that is, the private apartments, he was obliged to reside in the Citadel, and even within the Palace.

WHILST

The Vizir sets
his Master at de-
fiance.

WHILST the Vizir was brooding upon his discontent, an event happened which gave offence to all the world: the Emperor prompted by these two persons, had raised one Mia-Qhan, a brother of his mother's, but an actor by profession, to the military grade of seven thousand horses, and to the surname of Müatekud-Edö8ulah, or "Trust worthy of the Empire:" and to support the state incumbent upon such high titles, this man had been complimented with a complete household of elephants, horses, &c. together with the late Emir-Qhan's palace, ready furnished, as it was. By this profusion, he brought this man forwards, and made him figure amongst the mightiest lords of the Empire, although it must be acknowledged that the new lord was not destitute of good qualities, and did not avail himself of his favour but to oblige and to do good. This promotion however, was looked upon as an affront to themselves by all the grandees of the Empire, and especially by the Vizir, who resolved to rid himself of the umbrage which Djavid-Qhan gave him perpetually: this Eunuch, who trusted so much to his influence, that he rubbed his forehead against the third heaven, had the imprudence to accept of an entertainment at the Vizir's palace, where Aly-beg-Qhan, the head Niffiqh-chi, alias Shitab-Djung, ripped open his belly with a stroke of a poniard, and killed him instantly. This execution, which had taken place by the Vizir's order, much exasperated the Emperor and his mother; and, in order to ruin such an overbearing minister, they resolved to join Intyzam-eddö8lah, and all his other enemies.

WHILST the Court seemed convulsed with dissensions and jealousies, Ghazi-eddin-Qhan was advancing, by long stages, to Aorengabad, one of the capitals of Decan, where he made his entry, having with him the Marhatta Malhar, with his whole cavalry; but this man, who knew the difficulties under which his new master laboured, availed himself of his situation to request that the province of Qhandess should be made over to him, to insure the payment of his troops; and the prince, not thinking it proper in the beginning of his expedition to discontent a man at the head of such a force, gave him the patent of it, under his hand and seal: and thus that fine province, the extent of which reaches to the very gates of Aoreng-

Aoreng-abad, passed at once under the Marhatta dominion, on these easy terms: Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, soon after this, on the seventeenth day after his arrival at that capital, died suddenly; so that his army and friends which had followed him from so far, in hopes of bettering their fortunes, having now lost their leader, dispersed of themselves, and none remained but his household servants, who unwillingly to leave their master's body in a foreign land, took it by turns upon their shoulders, and carried it to Shah-Djehan-abad; and in this manner the dominion of all the Decans remained to Selabet-Djung.

Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, the pretender to the Sovereignty of Decan, Dies suddenly.

THE death of Ghazi-eddin-Qhan set young Mir Shehab-eddin, his son, to work:—He had been left in the capital as Deputy to his father, in his office of “Lord of Lords”. The Emperor thought it enough to continue the young man in the enjoyment of certain surnames and titles that appeared to be hereditary in the family; and, accordingly he was called, as well as his father and grand-father, “The Champion of the Law,—The Prop of the “ Kingdom,—The Brave Commander, ever Victorious in War;”—but as all these honors did not imply any thing of his having been admitted as successor to his father in his title and office of Lord of Lords, he went to the Vizir's house, and he so affected both that minister and his consort with compassion on his orphan condition, that the Vizir obtained his request from the Emperor. But the ungrateful young Lord, forgetting the education he had received in that minister's house, where he had learned several languages, acquired a taste for poetry, and had become a learned man as well as a good soldier, henceforward turned his back on his benefactor; and unmindful of the many obligations he owed to that family, and the constant support he had received from it, he joined Intyzam-eddö8lah and the Emperor with his mother, in the conspiracy of oversetting the Vizir and demolishing his power. Nor was it long before the minister had information of this conspiracy; for in a few days the Emperor sent him word to desire his leaving to his Majesty the disposal of the artillery and of the bathing-place, that is the private apartments; and he recommended to him a better discharge

of his duty as a Vizir: for the latter, sensible that a breach had now taken place between himself and his master, abstained henceforwards from going to court; and the Emperor intimidated at this, commenced carressing him anew, and he even went to see him; in which visit he excused what had passed, and seemed to have regained his heart; but as the reconciliation on either side went no farther than the lips, and it was evidently defective in truth and sincerity, months after months were spent in fruitless negotiations; to the very beginning of the year 1166; and even the first six months of that year were taken up in negociations, and likewise in giving birth to some events which we are to mention.

Civil war between the Emperor Ahmed-Shah and his Vizir.

THE Vizir was at a loss how to act:—to levy war against the Emperor seemed both improper and odious; and on the other hand, he apprehended that the conspiracy aimed at his life, as well as at his power and influence. The truth is, that he had neither that fund of policy, nor that blaze of daringness, requisite for an enterprise of such a high nature: he had not that disregard to scruples, necessary to a man that had conceived such high-flown projects, nor that stiffness of mind that enables him to overlook all obstacles, and to set at nought all considerations. He wanted also a sufficient extent of genius to take an adequate view of the strength of his party; and he had too high an opinion of that of his enemies: in fact, such was the opinion entertained of his power, in the beginning of the troubles, and so inconsiderable appeared in comparison both Intyzam-eddö8lah, and that child of Mir-Shehabeddin, that had he only opened his mouth, there were many commanders in his service who on a single order of his would have gone, seized, and bound those two Lords in their very lodgings; nor had either of them dared to offer the least resistance in such a case. Destiny blinded the Vizir's eyes, and shut up his ears effectually; and the Emperor sensible of his irresolution, wrote him a note at midnight, the purport of which had been agreed to in a council between those two Lords and the court eunuchs: It was in the Emperor's own hand. The Emperor having sent for the Deputy-grand-master of the artillery, who,

as such, had the command of the Citadel of Shah-Djehan-abad on the Vizir's part, bid him carry the note himself, and added to it a long message, upon several subjects. The foolish man excused himself on the impropriety of quitting his post: but the Emperor insisted, adding that it was for a matter of importance which admitted of no delay. The man had the simplicity to take up the note, and to carry it directly. As soon as he was out of the gate, the Emperor ordered all the gates to be shut up, and admittance to be denied the man for the future. At the same time the garrison placed by the Vizir, and which was all composed of his own troops, was driven out of the Citadel with much ill usage: All the Vizir's friends and officers were likewise forbidden admittance: Moreover the canon on one of the towers, which commanded the Vizir's palace, was turned against it; and every preparative was made for contention and war. The Vizir who conceived that contending with an armed hand against the Emperor would redound to his dishonor, render his person odious, and bring upon him the imputation both of rebellion and ingratitude, submitted to his fate, and only asked leave to repair to his governments beyond the Djumnah (12), and this being denied, he took his own party, came out of town without leave, encamped at about two or three cosses distance, and resolved to go to his governments without leave indeed, but if possible, without battle or bloodshed. This resolution was no sooner known, than his enemies resolved to attack and fight him, and even to have his life.

THE Vizir informed of that particular, pitched upon an idiot, whom no body knew, to personate one of the Imperial Princes; and having sent his consort and family to a strong-hold of S8r8dj-Mull's, he invited that Djat Prince to come again into his service. The other consented; and taking a body of troops, he came and joined the Vizir, his old friend and master. So decisive a step having convinced the Emperor that there were no measures to be kept with the Vizir, he discharged him from that high office, and conferred it on Intyzam-Eddö8lah, son of the late Camer-Eddin-Qhan.

(12) Ilah-abad and Aood, are, with respect to Dehly, both beyond the Djumna.

Mir-Sheabed-
din, alias Um-
ad-el-Mulk, is
intrusted with
the office of
pushing the war
against the Vi-
zir.

And as Mir-Shehab-Eddin notwithstanding his youth, seemed to be endowed with courage and much penetration, he entrusted him with the care of assembling an army, and fighting the Vizir; he summoned at the same time to his assistance all the Commanders and officers of the environs of the capital. One of these was Nedjib-Qhan the Rohilah, a commander who already bore a character for courage and daringness, as well as for understanding and conduct; This is the man whom we shall see rise gradually in the sequel, and by dint of merit only, to the high dignity of Emir-ul-Umra or Prince of Princes of Hindostan. All the Zemindars of the neighbourhood, whether of illustrious descent or of new families, like Chita-g8djer and Bel8-Qhan; all the Sëyds of Barr; all the noblemen of antient families who lived retired these many years; for instance Mahmed-Sadyc-Qhan, son to Sëif-ollah-Qhan, Viceroy of Tatta; all these came and offered their services, or were invited over. Amongst these last was my forgiven father, who after having been preferred by the Vizir to the command of Panip8t and the other eighteen districts of the dependence of the Qhaliffa-office, had of late fallen under his displeasure, and that of Abdol-Medjid-Qhan the Cashmerian, and was kept in confinement for some ballances set up against him. The Court-system being now so far changed, he was forgiven the above balances, sent for, and introduced to the Emperor, by Hafyz-Mohtar-Qhan, as a nobleman worthy of his favour. He on his side sent for some of his ancient troops and commanders; and having assisted them with some money to fit themselves up, he engaged them all in the Imperial service. All these warlike preparations in the middle of the city, and the many engagements that followed, seemed to shake every house in its foundations. From the beginning of Redjeb, in the year 1166, for full six months together, the streets of the city became the theatre of war and blood-shed. The Vizir's troops, which were commanded mostly by able officers, all old soldiers, jealous of their honour, distinguished themselves on all occasions; and above all others, the famous Ghofsäin or Fakyr, Radj-ender-gur, who had of late acquired so much honour at the siege of Ilah-abad, and now had

come

come of his own motion to join the Vizir's cause; this man made nothing of throwing himself amongst the very fire of the Imperial Artillery, and of killing and wounding every day numbers of people upon the very muzzles of their guns. He had but a few braves with him, but all as determined and as invulnerable as himself; and so often did he come off unhurt from desperate engagements, that a notion prevailed that he had some piece of witchcraft about his body, or some talisman about his person; and this notion, which took root in people's mind, rendered him still more formidable, when one day he was shot dead by a random musket-ball; and then the prepossession disappeared. It was in such a scene of confusion and blood-shed that Sadat-Qhan emerged again from his corner. This man whom we have seen dismissed from his office and dignity of Emir-ul-Umerah, and who on that account had conceived an implacable hatred against the Emperor, availed himself of the opportunity to come out again, and to figure upon the theatre of the world: he wrote to the Vizir that he wished to join him, and requested only that a body of troops should march towards the monument of the prince of men; and this being complied with, he under pretence of going thither in pilgrimage, joined the Vizir's troops, and went into his camp: this could not be a mighty acquisition to the Vizir, who underwent a loss on the other side; for Mir Sheab-eddin having published at same time, that whatever trooper had the letter *sin* stamped upon his horse, might come over, and would be received at fifty rupees per month, besides a hundred rupees for his entrance; and this proclamation having been rumoured in the Vizir's camp; almost all those of that description (and they were mostly T8ranians, as well as he that invited them,) deserted, and came over to the Imperialists, to the number of some thousands. Sheab-eddin had even the art to bring religion into the party. He assembled all the Cashmirians and all the Pendjabians who are all zealous Sunnies, and having set up a standard, as if their religion had been in danger, he published that the Vizir was a Shyiah, and a Rafzy, or blasphemmer (13), and he

(13) The Shyias not satisfied with rejecting the three lords, whom we have been mentioning some time ago, namely, Ab8-bekr, Omar, and Osman, (although they did really succeed, and carried the Masulman name from

he invited all the Mufulmen to join against one that had blasphemed the successors, and waged war against them: he added that this was a sacred war, and that, as such, it conferred the merits of martyrdom on whoever should perish in it. On this publication thousands and thousands of armed men flocked towards the standard; and nothing was heard but cries of four successors, and four friends; and whoever was met with in the streets, and suspected to be a Shyia, or even a well-wisher of the Vizir's, was sure of been striped and beaten; some even were killed. The house of the late Mahmed-Iffac-Qhan, inhabited by his two brothers Mirza-aly-Qhan and Salar-Djung, was plundered and sacked, as was that of Ismaël-beg-Qhan, a principal commander in the Vizir's army, whose house was known to be replenished with precious arms, money, jewels, and rich furniture, to the amount of several corors. In short no man of character, who was known to be either in the Vizir's army or in his interest, escaped unhurt. The houses of every one of them were plundered and sacked, nor did any part escape devastation but the women's apartment. To punish these excesses, Sir8dj-mul the Djatt attacked, by the Vizir's order, that part of the city, called old Dehly, and which is even richer and still more populous than Shah-Djehan-abad itself; and he plundered and sacked it so thoroughly, that an infinity of people lost their consorts and children, and were totally ruined, besides numbers that were massacred. A multitude of all sorts had taken refuge in the house and quarter of Shah-Bassutt, son and successor to Shah Mahmed Djaafer, on the expectation that his holy character being exceedingly respected, by every one, and by the Vizir amongst others, who lived on terms of friendship and intimacy with him, would prove a safe-guard to his house and quarter in the general plunder and massacre; but they were mistaken; and these deluded people underwent the same unhappy fate as the others. No respect, no regard was paid to it;—but let us

Old Dehly
plundered by the
Vizir's troops,
who at last came
to a compromise
with his
master.

the Loire in France to the Ganges in India) Load them with abuse and invectives, although they have been the Prophet's protectors, and had made him their son-in-law. Hence, as aggressors, they are called blasphemers or Rafadhies, by the Sunnis.—The Emperor of Hindostan, being reputed a successor to those successors, is himself styled a Qhalif.

pass

pass in silence over all those horrors,—for past is, what is past.—O God preserve us, preserve all the Imamites from such days as these! (14). After six months slaughter and ruin, both parties became tired of such a life, and both seemed desirous of a peace. The Emperor and his ministers sent the first message; and the Vizir, who was tired of the immense expences he daily incurred, and who acquired no good from all these troubles, gave his consent. Intyzam-eddö8lah served as mediator in the terms of the agreement: and this was, that the two governments of Ilah-abad and A8d should be left to the Vizir; these terms having been agreed to, the latter in the beginning of the year 1167, set out for those countries, and left the field to Mir-Sheab-eddin.

THIS daring young man had, during the war with the Vizir, called to his assistance from Malva, the Marhatta general Holcar-malhar, under promise of a high pay; but he arrived after the conclusion of the peace: nevertheless as the minister was highly exasperated against the Djatts for their connections with the Vizir, and the assistance they had given him; and as on the other hand, he was fond of remaining in power, he availed himself of the arrival of the Marhatta troops to fall upon the Djatt S8r8dj-mull; the latter who thought himself over-matched in the field, took shelter in certain strong fortresses of his, known under the names of Dig, Comir, and Buhret-poor, where he was immediately besieged: and as it is impossible to take such fortresses without battering cannon, Mir-Shehab-eddin who feared lest matters should draw to a length, sent to the Emperor to request some heavy artillery. The person he sent was Akybet-Mahm8d-Qhan, a Cashmirian, who was every thing in that minister's house; but however a wicked dangerous man, seditious and factious to a high degree. This request did not please Intyzam-eddö8lah, the Vizir, who

New troubles
in Dehly.

(14) Had not the author been a most bigotted Shyiah, he would not have spoiled that fine exclamation by restricting that benevolent wish of his to the Imamites only, that is to the Shyiahs. The text has the word *M8mminin*, which signifies the Faithful, and which Shyias assume to themselves exclusively to all other M8fulmen. The exclamation besides it's inhuman partiality, is inconsequent; it being the Sunnies who actually had lost their comforts and their lives by the violence of the Shyiahs, whereas the latter had lost only some property by the Sunnies.

was an honest well-meaning man: he knew that as soon as those fortresses should have been taken, both the master and the envoy, would not fail to return to the city, and to avail themselves of their prevalence to torment indiscriminately both friends and foes; he therefore advised the Emperor to refuse the artillery. The Cashmirian apprised of that, formed himself a party amongst the Manfoobdars, or military officers of the Crown, and the people dependant on the artillery; and partly by threats and by promises of plunder, as well as by a variety of other means, he engaged them to join his party in taking Intyzam-eddö8lah out of the way. Having fixed a day for this purpose, he assembled a multitude of people and made an attack upon that minister's house; but being repulsed, he quitted the city, and putting himself at the head of several bodies of banditties that joined together, he fell a plundering all those districts that depended on the Qhaliffa-office, at the head of which presided that nobleman, as well as all those in the environs of the capital which he knew to be held as Djaghirs by the several lords of the court.

Mir Sheab-ed-
din on ill terms
with his master.

WHILST he was busied in that manner, S8r8dj-mull, besieged in his fortress, sent up several requests both to the Emperor and to Intyzam-eddö8lah his Minister, representing " that if they suffered Mir-Sheab-eddin " and his Marhattas to go on with his schemes, a time would come when he " would turn his eyes upon the throne itself as well as upon the Vizir-ship, " and would attempt to overturn the government so as to new model it to " his own mind: That he therefore submitted it to the Imperial wisdom " whether in such a state of things, it would not be proper for his Majesty " to come out with his Minister and army, and under pretence of bringing " into order the districts of the Imperial demesnes, and, by hunting on the " way, to advance as far as Sekenderah, where it would be easy to send " for Ab8l-Manf8r-Qhan, a man who in such a case, would not fail to join " in crushing Mir-Sheab-eddin and the Marhattas." This advice having been approved by both the Emperor and the Minister, the Monarch set out on a hunting party, and took with him the ladies of his sanctuary, as well as his ministers, all the lords of the court, as well as his army and artillery;

artillery; In the course of his hunting he, from plain to plain, advanced as far as three or four cosses beyond Sekenderah. But he was averse from the party of applying to Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan; nor was it better relished by either his mother, or the Vizir Intyzam-eddö8lah, who after Djavid-Qhan's death, had leagued with that Empress: in complying with this part of S8r8dj-Mull's advice, they seemed to act with dilatoriness and reluctance. All these counsels and this irresolution having been reported to Mir-Sheab-eddin, who was exceedingly alert and intent upon his own schemes, he re-called Akybet-Mahm8d, and sent him to the Emperor's camp, as if to give him advice that some thousands of disbanded Marhatta horses, having made their appearance in his neighbourhood, had suddenly disappeared without it being known where they would shew themselves again. The Envoy having said so much, returned to his master. The slothful Emperor paid no great attention to the message; and the negligent Vizir, whose particular business it was to watch over the army, and to insure the honour of the Imperial household, as well as the safety of the Imperial person, quietly went into his tent, and fell to his afternoon's nap, after having heard the message: but the Marhatta general, Holcar Malhar was not so sleepy:—highly incensed against the Emperor and his Minister for their denial of some heavy cannon, he had left his son Ghandi-räo to keep the Djatts in awe, and had set out himself with a view to distress the Imperial camp with respect to water and forage; and by that means to find some opportunity to lay hold of the cannon, or at least to strike some good blow: he also wished to have no sharer in this expedition, and to be left to himself. Without giving any intimation of his design to any one, not even to Mir-Sheab-eddin, he set out in the beginning of the night, passed the Djumna at the ford of Mahtra, and was close to the Imperial army, before any one knew of his having so much as left his camp. And first of all he fired some rockets to feel the pulse of the enemy; at sight of these, it was concluded in the Imperial camp that Mahm8d was burning some village in the environs; and the matter appearing of no consequence, no one concerned himself in examin-

ing more narrowly into the matter; when at the latter part of the night, it was found that Holcar himself was at hand. On this intelligence the Emperor and his Ministers, both equally cowards, and unexperienced, lost their presence of mind, and were equally incapable of flying with recollection, or of making a stand. The Emperor with his mother, and Semfam-eddö8-lah with the Vizir, got upon their elephants, wrapped and muffled up as if they had been women; and without so much as assembling their officers or saying a word to any one, they fled with all their might towards the capital, leaving their consorts, daughters, and families, at the disposal of the enemy. It being rumoured, half an hour after, that they were gone, the whole army, officers, and soldiers, disbanded, and fled with arms and some baggage as far as Sekenderah. At day-break the Marhattas pursued them thither, and plundered and stripped every one of them, after having already plundered the Imperial camp, with the Imperial tents and furniture. Malecka-Zemani, daughter to Fero8-Seyur, and consort to Mahmed-Shah, with other Princesses of the Imperial family, as well as a vast number of ladies of the highest distinction, fell into Holcar's hands. That general treated them with the highest respect, and even abstained from touching either their persons or jewels with which they were covered, to an immense amount; and this abstinence of his is an indubitable fact; but it is no less certain, that an indelible disgrace befel the honour of the Imperial house of Timur that day; and that those sublime gates on the threshold of which kings and sovereigns, together with all mankind, had been accustomed to rub their foreheads in token of respect, became from henceforward an object of derision, and a standing mark for the kicks of the vilest men. But such are God's dispensations:—let us submit to them.

WHILST this scene was acting at Sekendera, Mir-Shehab-eddin was still occupied with the blockade; but he no sooner heard of this affair, than he quitted the field, and came to the city, leaving S8r8dj-mul at full liberty to rid himself of the miseries he had been undergoing; for the Marhatta general was by this time gone home, and Djehi-apa, the second general, had
set

set out for Narnol. A few days after this departure Mir-Sheab-eddin had found means to gain over to his party both Semfameddö8lah and all the commanders, and the ungrateful colonels that were attached to the service of the Imperial artillery; he then put himself at the head of a body of Hindostanies and Marhattas, and going to the Vizir Intyzameddö8lah's palace, he of his own authority dismissed him from his office, which he took for himself, procuring at the same time the office of "Lord of Lords" for his friend Semfameddö8lah. The next morning he went to the palace to put on his Qhylaät, and at noon he seized both the Emperor Ahmed-Shah and his mother 8dem-Bhäi, whom he ordered to be kept in confinement. It was the tenth Shaaban of the year 1167. Immediately after this, he sent for Aziz-eddin, son to the late Muëz-eddin-Djehandar Shah, and having proclaimed him Emperor, under the Sir-name or title of Aalem-ghir sani, or Aalem-ghir the second, he installed him on the throne. Seven days after, he ordered 8dem-Bhäi to be blinded, by having a red hot needle drawn accross her eyes, and accused her of being the cause and contriver of all the troubles; he then served the Emperor her son in the same manner. Probably none of these direful events had happened, had the Emperor condescended to apply to Abl8-Man8r-Qhan, who was then at hand, although in his government.

The Minister orders the Emperor and Empress's mother to be blinded.

THAT Viceroy, on his arrival in what he called his own ground, stopped at Mehdi-Ghat, where he built himself a lodging, reviewed and completed his army, and attached himself to its discipline; preparing at the same time all kinds of stores, and seeming to mind nothing, but whatever could strengthen and increase his power: he seemed intent on some project, when at once, without any previous ailment, a furuncle was perceived at his foot; and this having soon degenerated into a cancer, which baffled all the art of the physicians and chirurgeons, the evil in a little time rose to a heighth; and on the seventeenth of Zilhidge in the same year, he departed this life, and winged his flight towards the regions of eternity: his body, according to his own desire, was carried to the monument of the king of

Abl8 Man8r-Qhan dies.

Braves

Braves (17), and buried there. He was succeeded by his son Mirza-Djelladdin-Haidyr, surnamed the Shudjah-eddö8lah (18). The young Prince continued in the management of the helm that same Ismail-beg-Qhan, who had been his father's principal general and trustiest minister; and all the officers, commanders, governors, and grandees or nobles, promoted by his father, remained in possession of the offices and pensions they enjoyed. But in a little time, Ismaël-beg-Qhan likewise departed his life; and Temkin-Qhan, an eunuch of his household, succeeded him in his office of prime minister. It was at this same time that Sadat-Qhan died at A8d-Bangla: he is the same man who bore the title of Zolficar-Djung also, and had cut so strange a figure in the expedition against Adjmir. But as Shudjah-edö8ula cuts so capital a figure in our history, the reader probably may be pleased with hearing some particulars of that Prince's character.

Character and
conduct of Shu-
djah-eddö8ula.

SHUDJAH-EDDÖ8LA in his own temper was slothful, negligent and careless; but so valourous, that with that single quality of his, he found means to contain the Zemindars and the other refractory people with which his dominions abounded; so that his government was always respected. He was exceedingly fond of the company of women, without being attached to any; and addicted to every kind of pleasure, without exception; save, however, that of drinking wine. Nevertheless there appeared no impudence in his character, and no contempt of decorum in his behaviour. He had such an abundant fund of goodness, liberality, and benignity, as made him connive at trespasses against his interest, and rendered him ever ready to forgive the guilty. He governed quietly his dominions for three or four years, when the Abdali king, at the instigation of Mir-Shehab-eddin, now styled Umad-el-Mulk, invaded Hindostan, and marched directly to Shah-Djehan-abad: this was in the year 1170. That minister's intention was to join an army of Abdalies to an army of Rohilahs, and Bangash Afghans, who being inveterate and sworn enemies of Shudjah-eddö8ula's father and

(17) Aly, called by the Shyabs, *Shab-i merdan*, is the king of Braves; his tomb is at Cofah, betwixt Basrah and Bagdad.

(18) The Valorous of the Empire.

family, would be glad to embrace any scheme for intirely demolishing and ruining that rising power. This league, however, did not intimidate Shudjah-eddö8lah: without being dismayed by the threatened storm, he stood his ground so well that he was left to himself, as we shall relate as soon as we shall have dispatched some matters relative to the Western parts of Hindostan.

We have left Mir-Mann8 nearly absolute Viceroy of both M8ltan and Pendjab. He resided at Lahor, where having mounted his horse to take an airing, he went out of the city, and put his horse on a gallop; when he was suddenly seized by a fit of apoplexy, which ended at once in a palsy, that stopped him short; so that all he could do was to continue his voyage into eternity. This event is recounted in a different manner by a person in his service, who was very familiar with him: he says that Mir-Mann8 was encamped, and that he took horse to look at the troops of one of his commanders, encamped within a short distance, where he sat down to a dinner. The entertainment proving sumptuous, and consisting of a great variety of precious dishes, he tasted of every one; in the evening, he got upon his horse to go home, and put it to a gallop; and he was actually galloping, when finding something that pained him within, he alighted, stretched himself upon the ground, and in a few moments expired. The Abdalr king hearing of this sudden death, conferred the government on Mir-M8men, son to the deceased; and as he was yet a child, he recommended him to his mother together with the whole country. It must be observed that the deceased governor, keeping always a great army on foot; and being engaged besides in a variety of heavy expences, which the revenues of the country could not support; he had betaken himself to the expedient of oppressing and squeezing the body of farmers, as well as the people in general. But his credit was so strong at court, that there was no carrying any complaint against him; and on the other hand, it being a standing rule amongst the Syks to support each other at all events, numbers of people who could find no redress any where, and were driven to so much despair, as to cry *famine, famine*, about the streets,

The bad administration of the Viceroy of Lahor adds strength to the Syks.

very naturally recurred to that fraternity where they were sure of finding some resource. The whole business of admission seemed to consist in putting on a blue coat, letting the hair grow all over the body, and repairing in shoals to G8r8-Govind; from that moment they became Syks, and were intitled to the protection of the whole body, and looked like men freed from all their miseries. In this manner this sect or fraternity, which was already in vogue, having turned out to be a sure resource against oppression, it grew to an immense number; especially at this time, when the government of a country involved in troubles was to be managed by a woman: and as that sex is destitute of strength of mind, the disorders and troubles continued to increase. Her ministers commonly availed themselves of her retired life and immured circumstances, to render such an account of their respective departments, each in his own way, as served only to perplex and confound her understanding: hence the tenants and farmers became more oppressed than ever; and shoals of people flocking to the Syks, these people grew exceedingly numerous, and commenced talking high to the officers of government. The nobility and principal men of the country, who looked at these desertions with both amazement and disdain, made it a point to stand aloof; whilst the eunuchs, the freed men of the seraglio, and a variety of homely born vile men, took possession of all the affairs. Things were in such a state, when the young Mir-M8men departed his life; and then the government fell into the hands of Qhadja-M8sa-Ohrari, his brother-in-law. But as Becari-Qhan, who had acted as prime minister under the deceased Viceroy, wanted to render himself master of the government, and he had been intriguing with that view, the governess, who was informed of his intentions, and was already incensed against him, commanded his attendance within the seraglio or sanctuary; and as soon as he was within the gate, she got him surrounded by a number of stout women, who put him to the cudgel so severely that he expired under the operation. A short time had elapsed since this event, when Qhoadja-Abdollah-Qhan, son to Abdol-femed-Qhan, that ancient victorious of Lahor, having found means to seize and confine the governess,

Troubles in
M8ltan and Pen-
jab.

ness, contrived likewise to obtain from the Abdali king, the patents of the two governments. But Feraman-Qhan, who had brought those patents to Lahor, having commenced acting with authority, and plundered and ruined numbers of people; the new Viceroy who did not like his presence, and was also teized by the troops, who became clamorous for their arrears, found it was out of his power to satisfy their demands: so that to save his life and honor he fled from Lahor, to the disgrace of all government. In such a confusion of all order, the governess found means to re-assume the command; and having been in a little time put under confinement by Qhoadja-mirza-Qhan, who had been one of the principal commanders in her husband's army, the troubles at last subsided, and a compromise took place between her and that officer.

ALL these troubles and commotions having been faithfully reported to the new Vizir, Mir-Sheab-eddin, now stiled Umad-el-mulk, he conceived the design of recovering the provinces of Pendjab and M8ltan from the dependance of the Abdali king. Without imparting his scheme to any one, he set out with Alemghir, the Emperor of his appointing, and encamped at Badely, at some distance from the city; he intended also to bring to order and to reduce to submission the officers of the corps marked with the letter *sin*; who availing themselves of the need the Vizir had stood of their service in his disputes with Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan, had extorted from his hands all the districts of the Qhalissah-office, and all the best demesne lands about the city, as a security for their pay and arrears: they had besides assumed airs of importance, and proved unruly and refractory. With this view he sent for my father, and after appointing him sodjdar of Ser-hend, Tanefer, and Pani-poot, with some other districts of the Qhalissah, he advanced to the latter town. As the negociation for recovering these lands from the officers of the brigade *sin*, had been carried on by Kishen-chund, a Gentoo; Radja-Nagurmull, a Hindoo, who became exceedingly jealous of him, sent for the principal officers, all men highly discontented, and he informed them that Sëyd-Hedäiet-Aly-Qhan, that is, my honoured father, who commanded

The new Vizir marches to recover M8ltan.

manded in the districts snatched from their hands, was a man of property; from whom, by a proper application to the Vizir, they might easily get an advance of two lacs of rupees upon the rents of those districts: a sum that would go a great way in discharging their arrears; and that in case he should not consent to that advance, he undertook to find a man that would pay it down, on condition of his being put in possession of those districts. The officers accustomed this long while to speak in an imperious style, and inconsolable at their being deprived of such productive districts, swore to stand by each other; and the next day they sent their agents to the Vizir with the proposals. Mean while, my father, who had been informed of the turn which this affair had taken, and was unwilling to accept the condition, sent his resignation by the channel of the above Kishen-chund, whom he followed soon after to the Vizir's quarters. That Minister, after having passed a couple of hours in giving a public audience, in which he transacted business with my father, with Seif-eddin-Mahmed-Qhan, with Nedjib-Qhan, and with Nagur-mul, and some others, was getting up to retire to his private apartments; when he was stopped by the brigade agents, who by Nagur-Mul's management had joined together in informing him that the brigade *Sin* wanted a large sum of money in part of their arrears. The Vizir, without seeming embarrassed, answered that he had no objections, but that the corps must be reviewed first. The agents, sensible that no pen-men would dare to form difficulties in a day of review, consented; and they only requested that some M8tsuddies (19) might be appointed to review their corps. The Vizir, on hearing these words, turned towards Nedjib-Qhan, and directed him to review the brigade: to which that officer consenting, he immediately sent orders to his son Zabeta-Qhan to pitch up a tent in an open spot, and to review the brigade. The agents, surprized, found that the time was come for some great discovery, it being understood that these two officers were not men to be either tampered with or overawed, being themselves officers of high character, and at the head of seve-

(19) M8tsuddies, are pen-men in several offices.

ral thousand horses. Sraight they dispatched a messenger to their constituents, for the pupose of advising them to be upon their guard; the others finding that they would be ruined by such a review, conceived that there was no other expedient for escaping a discovery, than that of exciting a sedition and a mutiny; in consequence, they excited their most ferocious men to take the lead. Mean while the Vizir was retired to his private apartments, having with him only three or four persons, as Nedjib-Qhan, Radja Nagur-Mul, and Kishen-chund: a little after, Nedjib-Qhan went away. My father waited without, anxious to render his resignation acceptable, and to get rid of so disagreeable an affair; when at once twenty or thirty troopers of the brigade *Sin* came to the curtain of the private apartment, and exclaimed against their officers, complaining of their being reduced, for want of both arrears and pay, to a starving condition. Soon after these men were joined by some more; the appearance of which caused the harcaras or messengers at the gate to write a note, and to send it in by an eunuch. The Vizir after having read it, got up in the undress in which he then stood, and was going out: my father stopped him short, and represented that it was not proper for him to go out. *I shall certainly go*, answered the Vizir; *I want to speak to them and appease the tumult*. My father said nothing, but finding him resolved to go out, he joined him: the Vizir raised the curtain, spoke to them, and informed them, *that they would be paid as soon as their corps should be reviewed*. By this time those troopers had gathered to the amount of two hundred men; and trusting to their numbers, they had surrounded the Vizir, and were speaking insolently to him. My father mixed with the croud, and represented to them that the man they were insulting, was their resource in a day of need, and their Lord, the person that would hear their complaints if they had but the patience to speak quietly: the remonstrance did not avail: the men had come too well tutored to listen to any reason. One of them having torn away a button of jewell which the Vizir had at his nima (20), the others,

(20) The Nima is in itself a Djama or Gown, to all intents and purposes; but as it does not fold as the other, upon the breast, it serves as a waistcoat; and is therefore reputed an undress. Both the Djama and Nima consist only of cotton linen.

as if by signal, tore away his clothes to pieces; and his turbant fell off at the same time. Bare-headed as he was (21), they drew him on foot along the streets and lanes, and carried him to their camp. Mean while the Vizir's troops amazed at what they saw, were at a loss what to do. As the Vizir's last hour was not come yet, the officers of the mutinous brigade came into the tent, excused what had past, and desired him to put on the clothes which his servants had brought after him. The Vizir, incensed, listened to no advice; and addressing them with all the foul language he could muster, he cried out: "*You rascally pimps, (and this was his expression) if you intend to kill me, kill then, and make haste; for you will certainly be killed yourselves to a man; else, if you intend no killing, what do you mean by all this insolence?*" whilst he was speaking, a message came from the Emperor to the seditious. It was delivered in Turkish (22), to this purport, "*Instead of confining the Vizir, you ought to bring him to me; I am the proper person; and if you want only your arrears, I take them upon myself.*" The Vizir who, amongst several other languages, understood the Turkish very well, becoming still more angry, broke out in fury; "*No messages, no messages to these rascals; do you, rascals, make haste: go on with what you intend.*" The officers, without minding his language, supplicated him to accept their submission, and to mount an elephant, which was brought for that purpose. The Vizir mounted, when one of these officers, whose name was Haffer-Qhan, the Decanien, getting up behind in the Qhavvafs (23), took up the fly-driver with one hand, and

(21) An European with his hat under his arm, would stare on being informed that to be bare-headed is a high disgrace, all over the East, as far as the Ganges; the bankrupts, the day they stop payment, sit bare-headed in their counting houses, with a lamp burning before them at noon-day.

(22) The Turkish language, which is the language of Government all over Persia, is only a curiosity in Hindostan, where the Persian is the language of government; nevertheless the Princes of the Timur family make it a point to speak it, as do most of their ministers: here, the message being addressed to a brigade composed almost intirely of Eusbeg Turks or Tatars, was with great propriety delivered in the Turkish language.

(23) We have been obliged to coin a couple of words here, in order to translate, without a long circumlocution, two Hindostani expressions. The Hindostani ideas differ so widely from the European nations, that those who would not care to be Archi-cup-bearers to the emperor of Germany, or give the shift to the king of France; and would think themselves polluted by giving him water to wash his hands with, pride in sitting in the Qhavvafs, that is, in mounting behind a coach or nearly so, and in handling the fly-driver, &c. for the person sitting in the Qhavvafs,

and the sun-screen with the other, and continued waiting on him until the Vizir landed in his lodgings; and so soon as the Vizir had alighted, he likewise alighted from behind, and went away. The Vizir being landed, took his seat upon his mesned, where crouds came to make their bow. In a moment, he asked where was Hassen-Qhan; and being told he was gone, he sent after him, and got him brought back with his elephant. On his being come, the Vizir got upon the same elephant, and sent a general order throughout the army to kill and plunder the men of the brigade *sin*, wherever they might be found. In an instant, those numerous hungry Rohilahs of Nedjib-Qhan, who as well as the other troops, waited only for the order, fell upon them, and made them disappear from the camp, men, horses, tents, and all. The troops continued plundering and massacring the whole night: some few, who threw themselves instantly upon their naked horses and fled, escaped alive; the rest were all put to the sword, nor could a single man of them be heard of afterwards.

As soon as this execution was over, the Vizir who had taken umbrage at the Emperor's supineness on this occasion, returned to the city, where having recruited his troops and stores, and left the Emperor in the hands of some trusty friends of his own, he took with him the Imperial Prince Aly-Goher, (now reigning under the name of Shak-Alem,) and marched towards Lohor, resolved to re-annex those countries to the Empire of Hindostan. This minister who was naturally impetuous and fond of dispatch, and had also a knack at sowing troubles and raising disturbances, set out with a numerous army, in which he had taken care to have all the grandees of the court, as well as the Prince Aly-Goher; and he seemed to be only

Qhavvas, is always second to him that sits in the fore part of the Haodah; he is his Divan; and the fly-driver, or Moor-chul, is the characteristick insignia of his office; and were the Emperor to come in Bengal, and the English company, as Divans of that country, to be represented by one man, the Qhavvas and Moor-chul, would become the latter's right and duty. The Moor-chul is made in the form of a long broom, composed of Peacock's feathers, artfully put up, and resting in a long handle studded with jewels. the Qhavvas is the third or fourth part of the Haodah, from which it is always parted by a board, and has just room enough to afford a scanty space to one single man, so that the elephants mentioned in the Jew-books, and in the Greek histories of the times of Cofro must have been animals of another breed. The biggest elephant we have seen in India (and we have seen some thousands) could not afford room to more than four fighting men, and that too very scantily.

hunting

hunting by the way, but yet was shortening his distance every day; and mean while he had managed in such a manner, as to have gained over to his party the famous Adina-beg-Qhan: he was already arrived at Lodiana, within fifty cosses of Lahor; when being thoroughly satisfied with that man's fidelity, he by his advice sent to Lahor a body of troops, under the command of Sëyd-Djemil eddin, who was likewise entrusted with a letter and a message to the Begum, relict of Mir-Munn8, his uncle: he requested she might vouchsafe to send him her daughter, a princess betrothed to him long ago. The Begum, pleased with the request, sent her daughter with great pomp and magnificence; gave her a suitable dowry in jewels and money; and got her accompanied by a full household of eunuchs, tents, and every requisite for a voyage. The Vizir on his side sent his own uncle at the head of a large body of horses, and a cortege of principal officers to receive her at a distance; and they brought her to camp, where a full household and a proper set of tents had been provided for her reception, and where she was visited by her husband's aunt. The Princess's mother being by this time perfectly well pleased with her match, and quite easy in her mind, the Vizir dispatched Ybad-ollah-Qhan, the Cashmirian, a trusty commander of his, with a number of good troops, together with Sëyd-Djemil-eddin himself, who had orders to join by the way some cavalry of Adina-beg-Qhan's: the distance was of forty or fifty cosses (24), (a hundred and twenty miles;) and all this being gone over in one day and night, without hardly stopping to take breath, at day-break they got within Lahor; and going to the palace where the old Princess was yet asleep, and unsuspecting of what was managed, they sent eunuchs to wake her; and putting her in a close chair, they carried her to their camp, without Lahor; from whence, after taking one day to refresh, they returned to the Vizir, encamped at Lodiana: this Minister no sooner saw her alight, than he paid her a respectful visit and asked her forgiveness; and after giving the government of Lahor and M8ltan to Adina-beg-Qhan, under a clear rent

(24) The shortest coss is of two geometrical miles.

of thirty lacks a year; he returned towards the capital seemingly happy and satisfied with the success of his journey. But the old Princess was extremely angry and uneasy all the way, giving abusive language to her guards, and making nothing of crying aloud, both to them and to their master, "That the indecent and unjust manner with which she had been used, " would end in an infinity of troubles that would at last ruin his family, and " the capital itself; that the families of the highest nobility, involved in " one common ruin with the poorest citizens, would experience merciless " pillaging, and rapes and disgraces innumerable; that the Empire, as well " as the capital, would be overset and ruined; and know, (would she add " crying with all her might,) that all this is not far off: you shall see the " Abdali king in this capital within six or seven months. Look, he is co- " ming! All the noble families, ancient or modern, will be involved in one " common massacre; no Sheh, no Seyd, will be spared: all, all slaughtered!" And, in fact, matters came to pass just as the old woman had said.

Strange predic-
tions of his mo-
ther-in-law.

THE Abdali king, informed of the Vizir's insolence, and of the liberties he had taken with Mir-Mann8's relict, flew to Lahor with the wings of resentment and celerity: but Adina-beg-Qhan, who did not think himself a match for him, fled for shelter to the desert tract of Hansi, where he took up his residence in a fortress of difficult access, especially for want of water: the Vizir on the other hand conceiving fears for his own life, brought his new consort to Mir-Munn8's widow, entrusted her person to her protection, and by dint of intreaties and submissions, made his peace with her. For the Abdali king, who was flying on the wings of resentment and rapi-
dity, was already at twenty cosses from the capital of the Empire; and the Vizir disconcerted by so much expedition, saw no other party left to him, but that of submission; and going to the Abdali camp, he presented himself before that monarch: the latter at first reprimanded him severely, but his cause being pleaded both by Mir-Munn8's Begum, and by Shah-Veli-Qhan, the Abdali-Vizir, who had been gained, the Monarch readily forgave him, and afterwards continued him in his office of Vizir.—

The Abdali
Monarch mar-
ches against him

Plunders Deh-
li

Nevertheless on the seventh of the first Djemadi, of the year 1170, being a Friday, he quitted his encampment and entered the Citadel of Shah-Dje-hana-abad, where he had an interview with the Emperor Alemghir the Second; from that day his people fell a plundering and sacking so mercilessly, and they went on dragging away people's wives and daughters with so much cruelty, that numbers overborne by the delicacy of their feelings, rather than to fall in such abominable hands, made away with themselves (22): and God only knows the number and quality of all the violences exercised for a month together in that ill-fated city. The late Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan's palace and seraglio were rifled of every thing. And few houses of the nobility and better sort escaped a complete ruin and pollution. It was in the middle of so much violence and misery, that the Abdali king betook himself to an alliance of his family with that of Babr: He married his son

(22) To men accustomed to the mildness of the European governments, the Turkish one appears barbarous. It is nevertheless a mild one, when compared to the government experienced by the Persians these eighty years. Making a garden of men, as they term it, that is, burying a couple of hundred of living men in the ground, some in an inverted position, with only their thighs and legs out; and some with only their heads and arms, all the while exposed to a raging sun, is no new, no uncommon practice. Shutting women in bags, and then beating them with sticks, or pricking them with awls, at stated times, untill their fathers or husbands, fled into Turkey or into India, should send up such a sum of money, is a very common expedient. But Persians themselves are a civilized people, when compared to the Afghans of Candahar. In no part of the world is human nature so abominably outraged:—Their method of carrying away a male prisoner is this: although not even themselves would use it to carry an ox or an ass; they bore a hole in his shoulder, under the clavicular bone so remarkable in it; and passing a thong or rope through it, make the end of it fast to their saddle, and then mount and trot away. If the prisoner cannot follow at the rate of 30 or 40, 50 or 60 miles a day, he is instantly killed. Anti-phisi-cians of the first rate, no boy, no young man, of even twenty, can escape them; and when disputes arise about a prize, the whole is pacified, by cutting down the prize. The women, abused by them in an abominable manner, fled from them, and always preferred a well, to an Afghan. Girls of twelve and fourteen have become unmarriageable in their diabolical hands. And we have seen a lady, who rather than submit to such an embrace, fought the Afghan resolutely, although unarmed. He lifted his sabre, and was going to cut her down, when she presented her arm loaded with one of those enormous bracelets invented by necessity of two pounds weight of gold, and received the stroke upon the gold; whilst she struck the man with the other bracelet, and made him bleed; another stroke, another parade, and another heavy blow, a third, and the poor woman fatigued, wounded, and spent, was going to fall: nothing but a miracle could save her; and a miracle was, in fact, wrought instantly, at the moment of the third stroke: a Persian, one of the Cuzzellash guards, hastening his pace, cried out: *In the name of God, most merciful!* and with one blow made the Afghan's head fly off from his shoulders. The poor woman, who had never been out of her house, and had never set a foot upon a street, marched on without knowing whither she went, and in the evening, she was lucky enough to find her husband and family, at full twelve cosses from that fatal street. We have spoke to the lady; she is at Lucknow: a Catrani by clan. *Ex uno disce omnes.* An Afghan's method of cleaning himself, is a very plain one: as the common soldiers wear nothing but felts, and go on with them for five years together: he lights up a fire, straddles over it, and keeps his body and abominable clothes in a semicircular motion from right to left, and from left to right; nor are their officers much cleaner: their beards and eye-brows swarm with vermin, as well as their soldiers.

Timur-

Timur-Shah to a daughter of Yz-eddin, brother to the reigning Emperor. But after having leisurely plundered that rich city for thirty days together, he sent Djehan-Qhan, a commander of character, to chastise S8r8djmul, the Djatt, and he followed himself the next day; this was the fifth time the Abdali king had come into Hindostan. The Vizir Umad-el-Mulk, having of his own motion accompanied Djehan-Qhan, and proved of very great service to that general, received the Abdali king's approbation and applause; but mention having been made by his ministers of a present which that monarch expected, Umad-el-Mulk answered, that if they would give him one of the Timurian princes, with an army of Abdalies, and full power to carry it wherever he should think proper, especially in the country of Anter-bid, (that is the tract betwixt the two rivers of Djumnah and Ganga,) he would undertake to bring an immense sum into the royal treasury. The proposal being agreed to, two Imperial princes were sent for from the capital, and put into his hands; the one was Hedaïet-Baqhsh, son to Alemghir the Second; and the other, his son-in-law, Mirza-Babr, son to his brother Yz-eddin: and to these was joined a body of Abdalies, under the command of Djan-baz-Qhan.

WE have already observed that Umad-el-Mulk had conceived a violent aversion against Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan and his family, which last he had resolved to tear up by the root. Availing himself of the Abdali king's covetousness, he, under pretence of raising immense contributions in the country of Anter-bid, or Dö-ab (23), marched westward with an army of D8rrani-Abdalies; but with not one of the necessaries for making a campaign. Being arrived in the neighbourhood of Feroh-abad, he was met by Ahmed-Qhan-Bangash, who after paying his respects to both the Imperial princes and to the Vizir, presented them all three with a complete equipage, consisting of tents, elephants, horses, camels, and every other necessary; and moreover added a body of Afghans to the Vizir's army; the latter being now at his ease, and reinforced by a good body of troops,

(23) Di-potamia, would be the translation of that compound word.

crossed the Ganga, and took the road of A8d. This invasion however did not dismay or intimidate Shudjah-eddö8lah, who came out of his capital with a well appointed army, and encamped at Sandi-pai, the last place of his dominions; where some skirmishes took place betwixt the runners of the two Vanguards. Saad-ollah-Qhan, who was son to the late Ali-Mahmed-Qhan Rohilah, having offered his mediation, an agreement took place, under stipulation of a sum of five lacs of rupees, a part in hand, and a part payable by installments. This negotiation, in which Saad-ollah-Qhan exerted himself zealously for his friend Shudjah-eddö8lah, and proved of great service to both parties, totally disappointed Umad-el-Mulk, who hoped for great broils and a battle; and was obliged to repass the Ganga, and to encamp at Feroh-abad again, in expectation of what the Abdali king would do with the Djatts. It was the seventh of Shevval, in the 1170.

THE king had marched to Belem-gur, a fortress of his, at fifteen cosses from Shah-Djehan-abad; and having taken it in three days by dint of cannon-ball and bombs, he put to the sword every man in the garrison. Proceeding from thence to Mahtra, which is a famous place of worship for the Hindoos, he gave his Vanto Djehan-Qhan, recommending dispatch to that general. The latter spurred his horse, and arriving unexpectedly in a holiday, he ruined effectually that rich city; his soldiers plundering, burning, and destroying every thing they met, and carrying into captivity vast numbers of the consorts and children of the best families amongst the wretched citizens; an execution that struck such a terror throughout the country, that all the inhabitants quitted their habitations, and retired within their fortresses and strong holds.— Mean while the Abdali king advanced as far as Acbar-abad, but here he found some resistance: Mirza-Seif-ollah beg, who commanded from a long series of years in the citadel of that city, refused to submit, and fired his cannon to so good a purpose, that no Abdali chose to abide it's reach. Djehan-Qhan, mean while, was busy in taking one after another the Djatt fortresses; when at once a mortality broke out amongst the Abdalies which swept their people in such vast numbers, as disabled their king from prosecuting

secuting his designs. Submitting therefore to his destiny, he recalled his troops from the Djatt country, and commenced his march to his own dominions. Being arrived at the reservoir of Macfood-abad, which is on the same line with Shah-Djehan-abad, he was visited by Alemghir the Second, who wished him a prosperous return, and much complained of Umad-el-Mulk. The Abdali king paid a regard to his grievances by conferring the office of "Prince of Princes" on Nedjib-Qhan, now Nedjib-ed-d8ulah, then present, and by recommending to his care the Emperor and his family.

AND this naturally brings to our recollection that after the confinement of Ahmed-Shah, and the accession of Alemghir the Second, diffentions arose very high between Umad-el-Mulk the Vizir, on one hand, and the two relicts of Mahmed-Shah, on the other: these were Maleca-Zemani, daughter to Feroh-Syur and Sahaba-Mahal, both related to, and both consorts of, Mahmed-Shah: that Prince had from this second consort a daughter of great beauty, who had been the darling of her father's heart. These two Princesses mindful of having seen the honour of the Empire trodden under by the Marhattas, and fired with indignation at finding themselves, in every matter, at the mercy of Umad-el-Mulk, resolved to quit a country where every thing went to wreck; and they sent a message to the Abdali king, claiming his protection, as being both so nearly related to Mahmed-Shah and to him. The Abdali king, who thought himself much honoured by such a request, and hoped to be applauded by posterity, sent for the daughter which he himself married, and he gave the two other Empreesses a separate encampment in his camp; after which he marched to Lahor. His son Tim8r-Shah coming to join him in his way, he appointed the young Prince Governor of Pendjab, M8ltan, and Tatta, gave him Djehan-Qhan for Commandant of the troops; and turning towards his own dominions, he arrived by continued marches at Cab8l, and then at Candahar, where we shall leave him for a while, in order to take breath, and to afford ourselves time to cast a look at the affairs of Decan.

The French
grow powerful in
Decan.

MOOSHER-B8SSY commanded the body of French that had taken service with Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan-Muzafer-Djung, and had attached himself to Nizam-el-Mulk's family: this officer availed himself so well of the credit which his post gave him, that he became extremely powerful throughout the Decan. When he came to obtain the countries of Sicacol and Radj-benderi, &c. for his Djaghir, his influence rose so high, that every affair passed through his hands, and he governed with an absolute sway (24); he was decorated with the surname of Sëif-el-Mulk, or "Sword of the State," and the title of Umdut-el-Mulk, or the "Greatest of the Kingdom." This general had given so great a sway in all his affairs, public or private, to Häider Djung, a nobleman of those countries, that the latter came in fact to govern the six soobahdaries of Decan. But the English struck with this flow of prosperity amongst the French, resolved to come in for a share of the good things and conquests of India; and with that view they joined Mahmed ally-Qhan, son to Anvar-eddin-Qhan of Gopa-Ma8, under whose name they possessed themselves of some districts of the Province of Arcat. M8sher-B8ffy, meanwhile, taking umbrage at Roc8n-eddö8lah's administration, got him dismissed from his office of Prime

(24) If any one has seen M. de Buffy, and Colonel Clive, or Governor Hastings, in the height of their power and influence, he may have taken from those two or three individuals a pretty good idea of the different geniuses of the French and English nations. M. de Buffy always wore (in 1750 and 1755) embroidered clothes or brocade, with an embroidered hat; and, in days of ceremony, embroidered shoes of black velvet.—He was seen in an immense tent, full sufficient for six hundred men, of about thirty feet in elevation; at one end of this tent he sat on an arm-chair, embroidered with his king's arms, placed upon an elevation, which last was covered by a crimson carpet of embroidered velvet: at his right and left, but upon back chairs only, sat a dozen of his officers. Over against him, his French guard, on horse-back, and behind these, his Turkish guards; his table, always in plate, was served with three, often with four services. To this French magnificence, he added all the parade and pageant of Hindoostany manners and customs. A numerous set of tents; a pish-qhana; always on an elephant himself, as were all his officers. He was preceded by chopdars on horse-back, and by a set of musicians singing his feats of chivalry, with always two head-chopdars reciting his eulogium.—Colonel Clive always wore his regimentals in the field, was always on horse-back, and never rode in a palanquin: he had a plentiful table, but no ways delicate, and never more than two services. He used to march mostly at the head of the column, with his aid-de-camps, or was hunting at the right and left. He never wore silks, but in town.—Governor Hastings always wore a plain coat of English broad-cloth, and never any thing like lace or embroidery. His whole retinue, a dozen of horse-guards; he had two chopdars, always ready to pronounce his eulogium, but however, without his ever so much as suspecting their talent, for full twelve years together; and he departed for Europe, without so much as knowing those men as orators:—his throne, a plain chair of mahogany, with plenty of such thrones in the hall: his table, sometimes neglected: his diet sparing, and always abstemious: his address and deportment, very distant from pride, and still more so, from familiarity.

Minister,

Minister, which he obtained for Shah-Nevaz-Qhan; a nobleman with whom he had connections. This minister in the four years which his administration lasted, governed with so much vigour and prudence, that the Marhattas never thought of quitting their frontiers: it is he that drew from inaction and obscurity the two Princes Mir-nizam-Aly and Mir-Mahammed-Sherif, younger brothers to Selabet-Djung; two young men who hitherto had both lived in their elder's palace. This was in the year 1169. Mir-Nizam-Ali (who now governs the Decan as sovereign,) was decorated with the surname of the second Afef-Dja, and sent to govern the Barar: and Mir-Mushref, after having been successively decorated with the titles of Shudjah-el-Mulk, and Burhan-el-Mulk, or the "Valorous and Impetuous of the State," was sent to govern the kingdom of Bidjapoor; and both brothers departed to their respective stations. But in the very next year the office of first minister was taken from Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, and bestowed on Mir-Mushreff, who came from Bidjapoor to receive it; however he did not enjoy it; for his brother Nizam-aly, having marched to Aoreng-abad with a good army, requested his younger brother to take some repose; and assuming at the same time his office of prime minister, he became the center of all affairs, and even changed his younger brother's title into that which had been formerly that of the common father.

It was in this same year that Baladjiräo, the Marhatta, advanced upon the frontiers of Aoreng-abad, with intention to avail himself of the rising broils, so as to have a pretence for quarrelling. But the conjunctures upon which he had reckoned had already ceased; and Nizam-aly, having left his apparent lord, Selabet-Djung, to defend the city of Aoreng-abad, came out himself with his brother Mir-Mushreff, and advanced upon Baladjiräo, whom he beat, as far as Sund-gur, which is at thirty cosses from Aöreng-abad: but there he thought proper to come to an accommodation in which he consented to give Baladjiräo throughout all Decan a Djaghir of thirty-seven lacs of rupees; after this he returned to Aoreng-abad. But M8shur-B8ffy, who commanded an independent body of troops, having
taken

taken umbrage at this absolute authority assumed by Nizam-aly, conceived the design of breaking his rising power, (although in fact he only accelerated the ruin of Nizam-el-Mulk's family); as he conceived that so long as Nizam-aly should be at the head of so great a force, the influence of the French would become only a secondary object: by the means of some under-hand management, conducted by Haider-Djung, who as we have said, was every thing in his affairs, he debauched from Nizam-aly's service his best officers, and amongst others Hibrahim-Qhan, the Gardi (25), an officer of character, attached this long while to that young prince, whom he served with a body of his own troops; he debauched in the same manner some other commanders and troops, which he took in his own service: making good from his own treasury eight lacs of rupees, which were due to them by Nizam-aly upon their arrears. By such an artful management he reduced the young prince to the condition of a bird which has lost its feathers. He at the same time laid hold of Shah-nevaz-Qhan, and got him confined. Being now satisfied on those two important articles, he conceived a third scheme, which was that of confining Nizam-aly in the fortress of Golcondah, under pretence of carrying him to Haider-abad, and giving him the government of that province; which removal once effected, he conceived that he should remain master of the government to all intents and purposes. This scheme was laid with great secrecy; but Nizam-aly having by dint of penetration guessed the whole of its drift, he resolved to be before-hand with M8shur-B8ffy, by killing his minister, Haider-Djung.

(25) Hibrahim-Qhan-gardi was a very thin black man, much pitted with the small pox; who had in times of yore ran with a stick in his hand before Mr. de Bury's palenkin, Major of a place at Pondicherry. As he spoke a little Portuguese, the Major put him amongst the sepahies whom he was raising, and whose language he could not understand. Hibrahim rose in time to be a commedan, or commandant, that is, to have a couple of thousand sepahies, and a couple of hundred horses, under his command; he soon became independent of his benefactors, as did in time all the commandants in the French service, who allowed them such a number of horse and foot under their command as rendered them proud.—The French are the first who raised sepahies in India, that is, who gave musquets and bayonets to the country-musqueteers; but whoever should conclude from the name that they were any thing comparable to the English sepahies of our days, would commit an enormous mistake. The French could neither change their dress, or clothe them uniformly, or keep their arms in order, or punish them, or prevent their firing away their ammunition at the new moon, or pay them themselves, or bring them under the least restraint or discipline. They were a rabble with immense turbants, and immense trowsers; with musquets so ill used, that not one in twenty was in order.

Having

Having imparted his design to a few trusty persons, he fixed on the third of Ramazan in the year 1171 for its execution; that very day Häider-Djung was coming to Nizam-aly's quarters for some business, and having observed some movements that did not please him, he wanted to go back, when he was set upon instantly and had his throat cut in a moment. Nizam-aly after striking such a blow, threw himself upon a horse, and fairly made his escape; the whole French army with their artillery, in order of battle, standing astonished and dismayed, as if they had been an army of statues and pictures, set upright in a plain. This was a daring intrepid action, that equalled any thing done by Rustem or Ispent-yar (29), and where it seemed that Moshur B8ffy, and all his officers were out of their senses. In this confusion, some of Häider-Djung's people, ran to ShahNevaz-Qhan and his son Mir-Abdol-Nebi-Qhan, and put them both to death, together with another nobleman of consequence, called Amin-edd8ölah. The tumult being over, Selabet-Djung, Mir-Mushreff, and Moshur-B8ffy, returned to Häider-abad. As to Nizam-aly, he took to the road of B8rhamp8r, found means to regain his old servant Hibrahim-Qhan Gardi; and after that action, he marched with him in that city, where they put under contribution the rich men of the country, and amongst others Mahmed-Anvar-Qhan the B8rhanp8rian. This nobleman had acted as mediator in the treaty which had once taken place between the Marhatta general Sancradji-Malhar, and the Viceroy Houssein-Aly-Qhan; by which the latter had consented to pay the Marhattas a Chö8t, or a tribute. This nobleman incensed to find himself so tormented for money, said farewell to his own existence, and was buried in the garden of Shah-yssa, alias Djund-allah. These contributions having put it in Nizam-aly's power to raise a good body of troops, he marched from B8rhamp8r, and took up his quarters at Bassen, a principal town of the dependencies of Barar. There he had many disputes and several engagements with the Mucafdar or Marhatta governor of that province, who was Djano-dji, son to Ragho-Dji-Bhosselah, with whom he at last concluded

Troubles in
Decan, and dar-
ing Action of
Nizam-aly's.

(29) Two famous heroes of the ancient Persian history.—See the Shanamah, an Heroic Persian poem, of sixty thousand distichs.

an agreement. After this he marched to Haider-bad, where great disputes and dissensions arose between the three brothers: at last it was agreed that Selabet-Djung and Nizam-aly should remain and live together; but that Mir-Mushreff should immediately proceed to his government of Bedjapor.

The Marhattas extort fortresses and territories from Nizam-ally.

WHILST the brothers were disputing amongst themselves, Seda-Shi8, a relation of the Marhatta Baladjirao, intrigued so well with the governor of Ahmed-Nagur, that this fortress, once the capital of the kings of Nizam-Shah's family,—that fortress which had cost so much time and trouble to Abdol-Rahim-Qhan, the general of the imperial prince Soltan-Danial, and which since Soltan-acbar-Shah's reign, had always been in the possession of its particular governors, was surrendered in a day, and became annexed to the Marhatta empire. This city and fortress had been built in the year nine hundred, by Ahmed-Nizam-Shah, king of Bidjapoor, who gave it his own name. He built the city in two years, and it afforded a fine prospect: two years after, having found a proper opportunity, he built the fortress, likewise, making up the walls with clay and stone, and it continued in the hands of his successors; when in the year 1090 it fell in the hands of the Emperors of the house of Babr, in whose power it remained, until it passed to the Marhatta empire, in the year 1173.

It was about this time that broils having arisen between the English and French, the latter abandoned Selabet-Djung's service, and returned to the center of their dominions, P8lcherry. From that moment Selabet-Djung's preponderance seemed to verge to its ruin; and his national enemies having conceived high-flown designs, they aimed not only at reducing his person to nothing, but likewise at snatching from Nizam-el-Mulk's family, all the dominions of Decan. They even engaged Hibrahim-Qhan-Gardi to take service with them; a man from the dregs of the people, who having served for a length of time under the French, and learned their way of managing their canon and musquetry, was actually at the head of a body of such musqueteers, and such an artillery of his own, that made him courted by all parties:

parties: he was now gone to P8nah, in company with Seda-Sy8. But it was not for any length of time: the twenty-second of the month of Djemady in the same year, he came out of P8nah in conjunction with the Marhatta army, which encountered the two brothers Selabet-Djung and Nizam-aly in the territory of 8dghir. Unfortunately for them they had but seven thousand horses with them at that moment, having parted from their main some hours ago. The Marhattas had sixty thousand cavalry. The two brothers wanted to march forwards in order to effect a junction with those of their troops that had remained at Dehaver; but this was opposed by the Marhattas, who although they have no other way of fighting than that of repeated skirmishes, and no other industry than that of distressing the enemy for want of forage, victuals, water, and other necessaries, nevertheless availed themselves of so marked a superiority on their side, and made nothing of engaging nearer, and of coming to hand blows with their long swords and short spears: so that the Hindoostanies had no other resource, but that of marching slowly in a body surrounded by their cannon. But even this resource failed them: their artillery was heavy and unmanageable, whereas the Marhattas had now in the Sepahies of Hibrahim-Qhan a body of musquetry always ready to oppose the enemy's march; and in his cannon, which was much lighter and better mounted, an expeditious artillery, which advanced and wheeled round just as the managers pleased. The two brothers laboured likewise under a further disadvantage: as their troops marched in a body together, the enemy's cannon never failed to send amongst them some balls that always did some havoc; whereas the Marhattas marching in small dispersed troops, were seldom struck by any cannon, or if struck, received but little damage; and when upon a halt they were attacked by the Hindoostannies, they always found in the quickness of Hibrahim-Gardie's fire, a sure resource for repelling the enemy: in consequence of all these disadvantages the two brothers lost in their retreat a number of men. Nevertheless the sixth day of march they found an opportunity of coming to hand blows with the enemy, especially with Hibrahim-Qhan's

Qhan's people; and falling amongst them sword in hand, they made a great slaughter, and took eleven colours from the latter; and in this manner they continued their march, as far as the fortrefs of Häofah, which is only at ten coffes from Dehaver. The Marhattas conceiving that if once a junction was effected between the two brothers, they would prove an undermatch, resolved to make a laft effort to prevent it. With forty-thouſand horſes they attacked Selabet Djung's van, which conſiſted of no more than three thouſand, and after a ſharp action, they deſtroyed it totally. This check by humbling the family of Nizam-el-Mulk, prepared its ruin; and the two brothers, finding that a junction was impoſſible, thought only of an accomodation; and it was concluded in ſuch terms as proved only the ſeed of future miſchiefs and diſputes. The Marhattas by this peace obtained, under the name of Djaghir, the ceſſion of a country of fixty lacks a year. It conſiſted of the territory of Aoreng-abad, (that city excepted,) and the diſtricts of Houily, Hurfool, and Setrah. The remainder was made up with the Provinces of Beder and Bidjapoor, as well as with the fortrefſes of Dö8let-abad, Affir, and Bidjapoor: places of conſequence, that had been anciently the capitals of ſo many powerful kingdoms, and had coſt ſo much blood and treaſure. Theſe latter lands ſerved for demefnes to the two brothers, and had hitherto afforded appanages and a plentiful ſubſiſtence to a number of manſobdars, and officers, and noblemen of high rank: who being now deprived of ſuch a certain livelihood, were reduced as low as their ſovereigns and lords, the Prince of Princes of the houſe of Nizam-el-Mulk: nor did any thing remain to this family, but the Province of Häider-abad, with ſome diſtricts of that of Barar and Bidjap8r, and a ſmall portion of that of Beder; and even this did not remain to them without being ſadled with a chö8t (30): a ſlight tribute impoſed by the victors, which did not amount to a quarter of the real revenue, but which they never fail to improve and to nurſe up, as ſoon as they have committed the young plant to the ground. Nevertheless, in

Nizam-Aly
overcome by the
Marhattas, parts
with a large ter-
ritory.

(30) One quarter of the Revenue of the Country.

spight of so many disgraces the project of the enemies of that illustrious family did not take place; and it continued to enjoy dominion and sovereignty in Decan. But as we have just been mentioning the name of the three fortresses, as having been the capitals of so many powerful kingdoms, we imagine that some account of them may prove acceptable to our readers.

RAM-DE8, Radja of Dö8let-abad, then called Dë8gar, having been vanquished by Soltan-Ala-Qhliđji, redeemed his life by presenting that Prince with an immense sum of money (31), and with a variety of costly presents and curious stuffs. It was in the year six hundred and ninty five of the Hedjrah. But in the year seven hundred and seven, the Radja having been again vanquished and subdued by Meleck Caf8r, an Habeshinian slave, which the conqueror had left in those parts as his Naib, or Deputy, the Gentoo prince thought proper to follow him to Dehli, where he was kindly received by Soltan-Aläeddin-Qliđji, who honored him with a sun-screen, or umbrella (32), and the title of Rây-Râyan, or Counsellor of Counsellors; after which he returned satisfied to Dö8let-abad, his capital; and from that moment he never thought of revolting against him, or of disputing the orders sent him from Court. After his death, he was succeeded by his son; but the deputy governor, Melec-Caf8r, who did not live upon such good terms with the son as he had done with the father, continued to make conquests on the young Prince, and to deprive him of more territories, as far as the Carnatic: he even sent complaints against him

(31) There is an Indian Proverb, that runs in these words: *This is a Radjab's House:—are you afraid of wanting for Pearls?*

India, in fact, is the sink of all the treasures of the world; and so early as the times of the Romans it received two millions sterling a year from them, and it has continued ever since to swallow all the silver and gold of the world; but all those treasures are buried in the ground; its several princes sometimes at peace for several generations together, and living mean while like so many hermits, had no opportunities of spending their revenues, and they therefore kept them in hoards and ricks, such as those found by Sooltan-Mahm8d-Seb8k-Teghin, the first Mussulman Conqueror that penetrated into India: hoards that would be past belief, were not the assertion corroborated by those immense riches found by Alexander in several parts of the Persian dominions, and lately by Haider-Aly-Qhan, in Syringpatam, that capital of only a small kingdom.

(32) We have observed, at the ceremony of Ahmed-Shah's inaguration, that the umbrella is an insignia of sovereignty.

to Court, and obtained leave to strip him intirely of his dominions, and to annex them to the Empire of the Qhlidji Emperors (33). The deputy governor having obtained this consent, in the year seven hundred and eleven, marched to Dë8gur, seized on the Gentoo prince, put him to death, and took possession of that fortress; which from that day has remained in the hands of the Emperors of Hindostan. But the Empire having passed some centuries after from the Patans of the tribe of Qhlidji to the Moguls of the house of Timur, the Emperor Shah-Djehan, one of the most victorious of Princes which this last family has ever produced, sent one of his generals, who bore the title of "Lord of Lords," with orders to recover the fortress from the Kings of Decan, who were then the descendants of Nizam-Shah; and it remained from that time under the power of the House of Timur, being governed by a succession of governors independent of the viceroys of the province. Under the Hindoo princes it had not that deep fosse it has now, nor was it surrounded by a third enclosure, as it is in our days; nor was it so strong as the Musulman princes have since made it; and it is Soltan-Mahmed, son to Toghlyc-Shah, who changed its name into that of Dö8let-abad. He surrounded it with a wall of squared stone, adorned it with noble buildings; and he even had a mind to make it his residence and the capital of his dominions; for that purpose he unpeopled part of Dehli, and transported its inhabitants to Dö8let-abad. But his scheme did not prosper. It is computed that this fortress fell into the hands of the Marhattas four hundred and sixty years after that period.

Some accounts
of Bidjapör.

As to the fortress of Bidjapoor, it has been built by Y8s8f-Adel-Shah, founder of a family of kings who always bore the same name. It was at first raised with mud, but in the year 900, he surrounded it with a wall of stone and mortar, and left it to his descendants; in whose hands it continued

(33) The Qhlidjies as well as the Lo8dies, were particular races of the Patans that were settled in Hindostan long before Timur's arrival; nor were those Patans any others than the Siah-poshes (the men in blue), that gave him so much trouble in the mountains north of India; nor were those Patans any thing else but the Afghans of our days.

until

until it was taken from Sekander-Adel-Shah, the last of that family, by the victorious arms of Aoreng-zib, in the year 1097: it fell in the hands of the Marhattas about two hundred and sixty seven years after its building. The governor surrendered it without saying a word; but Sëyd-Nedjef-Aly-Qhan, governor of the fortrefs of Affir, who received a like order from Selabet-Djung, refused to surrender his fortrefs; and he supported a siege of a whole year, when being reduced to extremity for want of victuals, he surrendred it to the Marhattas upon terms. It was on the 12th of the second Reby, in the year 1174.

THIS fortrefs of Affir is one of those built by Affa-Ahir, who gave it his own name, which word in process of time, has been curtailed by the suppression of three letters, into that of Affir. His name was really Affa, to which, in compliance with the custom of India, they added that of his clan, which was that of Ahir, a tribe that employ themselves solely on dairy business and in attending black cattle. This Affa was a zemindar of an illustrious family of Qhandefs, which had dwelt on that mountain as well as commanded in that district, for seven hundred years together; and they had raised a fort of rough stone and mud to secure their herds and their riches; it came to Affa in that condition. But as he was much richer and much more powerful than his predecessors, he threw down the old walls, and raised a regular fortification of stone and lime, which became very strong, was conspicuous from afar, and came at last to be called by the name of Affa-Ahir's fortrefs. It was snatched from his hands by Nassur-Qhan-Farooky, who in the year eight hundred and one assumed the crown, and set up a new monarchy in the province of Qhandefs, where he commanded as governor. But this fortrefs being nearly impregnable by open force, he made use of the following stratagem: he sent word to Affa to request his giving an asylum to his children, consorts, and family, as the radja of Buglana, and the radja of Antoor had joined together, and were coming upon him (Nassyr-Qhan) at the head of a great army; two
princes

princes whom he would readily encounter, as soon as his mind should be easy with respect to his family. The Gentoo consented; and gave orders at the gate accordingly. The day appointed, a number of covered chairs entered the fort: they were full of Nassyr-Qhan's women, who had orders to treat Affa's women with the utmost civility, and with many presents, whenever they should come to pay them a visit. They came in fact, and returned to their homes, perfectly satisfied with their guests: The next day, an equal number of covered chairs came in, and were admitted; but they contained two hundred of the bravest men of Nassyr-Qhan's army. The Radja hearing that these only were the governor's consorts and daughters, whereas the former were but his concubines, got up from his palace, with his children, and went forward to welcome the new comers, and to introduce them to their new lodgings; and he was returning home, after having fulfilled that office, when the men in the mahafas, having assembled together, fell upon him and put him to the sword, with his children and retinue. The rest of the garrison, frightened by this execution, asked for quarter, and were permitted to retire out of the fortress; Nassyr-Qhan informed of this, hastened thither with a body of troops with which he put a garrison into it; and it has remained since that day in the possession of his descendants, until the reign of Sultan-Acbar-Shah, Emperor of Hindostan; when in the year 1009, it was taken from the last of them, Bahadyr, son to Radja-Aly-Qhan, and entrusted successively to a number of governors, independent of the province. It was computed that about four hundred and sixty years had elapsed betwixt Nassyr-Qhan, and the surrendering of this fortress to the Marhattas. It was in this same year, 1174, that the English having taken from the French the fortress and port of P8lcherry, after a long siege, ruined from the foundation both it's fortifications and buildings; by a consequence of the same event the provinces of Sicacol, Radjbendery, and some others, that had been given in Djaghir to the French, and which it was thought would never be recovered from their hands, fell down of themselves at this time, and returned to their former owners.

War between
the French and
English. which
last take P8l-
cherry.

BUT

BUT this event, considerable as it was, proved of small consequence, when compared to those that had at the same time taken place in the capital. We have already said something of Nedjib-Qhan, the Rohilah, who was a man of genius and valour; and we have mentioned that having been, on account of the high character he bore, invited over by the Vizir-Umad-el-Mulk, whilst he was waging war with Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan, he came soon to be greatly esteemed, so as to rise to the highest influence and dignities; and it was out of regard to that high character of his, still more than for his being an Afghan and a countryman, that the Abdaly Monarch had thought proper to recommend him to the high dignity of "Prince of Princes." Whilst this high dignity was bestowing at Dehli, the Vizir Umad-el-Mulk, was waiting at Fero8h-abad, the issue of the Abdali king's expedition; but he no sooner heard that he was returned to Candahar, than thinking his honour concerned in not falling short of that Monarch, he bestowed that high office on Ahmed-Qhan-Bangash, just as the Monarch had bestowed it on Nedjib-Qhan: after that he returned to Shah-Djehanabad. In his way thither he effected a junction with Ragonat-rão, a relation of Baladjirão's, as well as with the Marhatta general, Malhar-Holcar, and marched to that Capital, which he took; and having besieged the citadel, nothing was seen for forty-five days together but cannon balls and rockets; and both the Emperor Alemghir and Nedjib-eddö8lah, alias Nedjib-Qhan, his minister, were going to fall in his hands, when the latter sent a mighty bribe to Malhar, who from that moment assumed the character of mediator, and proposed an accommodation. Mean while, having brought Nedjib-eddö8lah from the citadel, with both his family, furniture, and effects, he lodged him close to his own quarters. After which he conveyed him to his own country, which is on the other side of the Djumna, and consists of the districts of Soharenpoor, Chandpoor, the whole territory of Barr; and some other lands, like Boodya, and Nedina. After this departure, Umad-el-Mulk, who stiled himself the Vizir, took possession of the administration of, what was still called the empire, placed his own creatures in

Umed-ul-mulk
seizes on Dehli,
and on the Em-
peror's person.

it, and remained the sole disposer of affairs. But long before the Vizir's arrival at the capital, his intentions were so far mistrusted by the Emperor Alemghir and his minister, Nedjib-eddollah, that they had thought proper to send the Imperial prince out of town. This was Aly Goher, who bore the same title with his father. They gave him in appanage the districts of Hansi, Djudjar, Cher-radery, and some others that yet depended on the Qhalissa; and they recommended to his care, to seem busy only in settling the revenue of those districts, and in bringing them into order: but mean while to take possession of as many more districts as he could, in his right of presumptive heir of the empire, and virtual owner of that whole country: they added, that he ought to employ those revenues in acquiring friends, raising a good army, and keeping himself in readiness to come to his father's assistance, whenever the Vizir Umad-el-Mulk should return to the capital, and avail himself of the two Imperial princes in his power to excite troubles, and to give vent to his own mischievous disposition. Whilst Aly-goher was preparing himself to go abroad, the empress Zinet-Mahal, second consort to the reigning emperor, who on the decease of Aly-goher's mother had conceived for him a motherly affection, willing to render him a farewell service, sent for my father, at the gate of the seraglio, with the Emperor's consent, and there she appeared veiled in his presence; and after having strongly recommended Aly-goher's education as well as his person to his paternal care, she took the young prince's hands and put them in my father's right hand. The young prince after this tender scene, went out, and took up his residence at the seat and garden of Tal-Cat8rah, where he commenced assembling forces, most of the braves residing in the city making it a point to enlist under him. One of these was Mir-Djaaser, the Hindostani, who had with him a number of men that bore a character both for bravery and fidelity. Ozm-aly-Qhan was another nobleman of the same family, with the late Houssein-aly-Qhan, and like him devoted to the service of an Imperial prince, as we shall some day mention, if it pleases God. But as by this time the Vizir Umad-el-Mulk had with the assistance

Some account
of Prince Aly-
Goher, present
reigning Emper-
or, under the ti-
tle of Shah-al-

of

of his Marhattas made himself master of the Emperor's person, he forced the latter to send an order of recall to the Shah-zedah, or Imperial prince; and not satisfied with that, he supported the letter by a general of his own, Seif-eddin-aly-Qhan, the Cashmirian, at the head of ten thousand horses, and by a precise order to bring the prince back by every means in his power; by persuasion, promises, intreaties, threats, and open force. The prince, sensible of his helpless situation, turned towards the capital; and he was setting out for it, when he was dissuaded by one of the commanders that had come over with Holcar-Malhar to the Vizir's assistance, and had enabled him to drive away Nedjib-eddö8lah and to make himself master of the Emperor's person: this was Atel-Räo, who although intending to follow the others into Decan, was yet encamped in the territory of the capital: this commander, meeting the Shah-zedah in his return thither, dissuaded him from going to the city, where he represented the many dangers to which he would infallibly be exposed, from the Vizir's omnipotence, fears, and cruelty; and he proposed his rather continuing abroad, and taking possession of the territories round the capital, in which case he would serve the prince with his person and troops. The latter who wanted no better, and who augured well of such a proffer, quitted the road he held, and joining Atel-Räo, he crossed the Djumna, and took possession of some districts in the neighbourhood: the Vizir hearing of such a change, sent a secret message to Atel-Räo, and under promise of a great present, he wrought so great an alteration in his mind, that the Marhatta commenced advising the prince to return to the capital; and at the same time parted company with him. The Prince obliged to submit to circumstances, returned to the city, and took up his abode in Aly-merdan-Qhan's palace. Whatever instances the Vizir made for his residing within the citadel: he had but a small number of friends with him, and but a small number of troops; as all those of the latter description, who had dwellings in the city, had retired to their homes. The Vizir sensible of this, sent him a message, requesting his being pleased to dismiss all his troops, as the treasury could

could not afford to pay for them; else he advised that they should be sent to the districts of the prince's appanage, as the only means to keep those districts under order, and as the only method to pay those people the arrears which they claimed. The prince who saw the drift of the message, but had no choice left, picked up a small number, whom he desired to reside with him, and he sent the rest to the territories pointed out.

THE Prince being disarmed by this manœuvre, the Vizir remained inactive for a fortnight; when one day, on pretence of going to visit Shah-Nizam-eddin's monument, he assembled vast number of armed men at his palace gate, and at once sent ten or twelve thousand of them to Aly Merdan-Qhan's palace, with orders to besiege it, and to confine the Shah-zadah's person. The troops having in a short time bored holes through the walls, penetrated within the outer courts, whilst others were getting upon the terraces, and began firing so briskly that they soon killed the greatest part of those who had shewed themselves from within. Mir-Djafer-aaly and Ozm-aaly-Qhan, who saw all this, and were ready armed, as well as the Prince, observed to him, that, "it was better to make a fortie upon the enemy, and to fight them manfully, as the consequence would be either to perish bravely like men of honour and character, or to effect an escape: that in the first case, they would jump at once into eternity, with their heads encircled by the Tulip garlands of martyrdom; and in the second, they would get rid of their pursuers, and recover their liberty." The Prince consented: he had only a few men with him, but these were determined and resolute: mounting their horses, they advanced to the back part of the house, where there was a certain breach in the wall which looked on the river; and falling unexpectedly upon the enemies, sabre in hand, they in a moment cut their passage through them, strewing the ground with their dead. The Prince slew two men with his own hands; and he behaved throughout the whole action with so much personal prowess and heroical conduct, that the Cahremans and Heroes of old times would have bit the finger of astonishment, had they been

His heroical
retreat through
a whole army.

they been witness of his valiance. The enemies ashamed to see their prey ready to escape, crowded after them, and pursued hotly. In this extremity that interpid troop used to turn about, rush upon their pursuers, put the foremost to flight, kill some of them, and then continue their route as before; and it was by such continual exertions that they cut their way towards Atel-Räo, the Marhatta, who was encamped at Tila-Mahnöo; that General informed of what passed within sight of his encampment, came out with a body of cavalry, and having received the Prince with every mark of respect, he brought him within his camp: and as that commander had been some time ago a strenuous adviser of the Prince's repairing to the capital, so as in fact to oblige him to return thither, and had moreover parted company with him; he now exerted himself in making an apology for being in some measure the cause of the Prince's danger. After that, he did every thing in his power to sooth his mind; he then pitched a number of tents for him, several more for his men, with others apart for his wounded, of whom he took great care, assisting with necessaries both these and the others. During that trying retreat, the enemy pressed so hard, that every one saw that the Prince was going to fall in their hands or to be slain; in that critical moment, that would have appaled a Rustem and a Sam (34), the illustrious Sëyd, Ozm-ali-Qhan, with that daring courage hereditary in his family, and that heroical valor which came to him from the founder of his race, Aly the king of braves, turned about to the Prince, and said, "Prince thou art destined to be one day a resource to an infinity of people; and thy life is therefore more precious to day than our's: run then forwards and gain some distance, and I will undertake meanwhile to stop the enemy, until thou shalt have distanced him." He said, and with a daringness the more admirable, because of his youth, he turned about and fell amongst the pursuers with such fury, that the sphere of heaven stopped short to look at so much prowess; and when that young hero fell at last, spent with the fatigue of the slaughter, its eyes were seen to drop tears.

(34) Two famous Heroes of the ancient Persian History.

in great abundance (35). Atel-Rāo, having seen his guests refreshed and recovered, made a return upon himself, and reflected that his masters in Decan might find fault with him for so openly espousing the interests of Umad-el-Mulk's enemies; he therefore thought proper to afford no more a handle against himself, and he escorted the Prince as far as Feroh-abad, a place different from Bangashe's Capital. There he was received by M8ffa-Qhan the Ball8ch (36), zemindar of that country, and son to Cam-car-Qhan, who expressed great respect for the Prince's person, pitied his situation, and made him a present of three lacks of rupees. Atel-Rāo, having seen his royal guest in a place of safety, took his leave, and returned. The Prince quitting M8ffa-Qhan's country, advanced by C8ndj-p8ra to Soharenp8r, where he found Nedjib-edd8lah; the latter entertained the Prince for eight months together, and neglected nothing of what could conduce to alleviate his sorrows; but a great revolution having at that time taken place in Bengal, where Mir-Djafer-Qhan had possessed himself of that country by the assistance of the English, he advised the Prince to avail himself of that opportunity to shew his person in those regions, and to try whether he could not take possession of them. By these insinuations he freed himself honorably from a guest, that was likely to attract upon his person and country the whole weight of Umad-el-Mulk's resentment. Having therefore presented the Prince with as large a sum of money as he could afford, he took his leave. The Prince having listened to that advice, left at Mehranp8r both my father and Mun-nir-edd8lah, with orders to assemble troops, and to prepare some artillery and ammunition; and taking his leave of them, he marched by Moorad-abad and Ber8ily, with intention to repair to the country of A8d. In his way thither he was entertained by Saad-ollah-Qhan, son to Aly-Mahmed-Qhan Rohilah, who exerted himself in pleasing and assisting him. It was the ninth of the

(35) It appears from a relation of that retreat by a different hand, that those six Heroes, already spent with fatigue, and fainting with heat, were suddenly refreshed by a slight shower of rain.

(36) The Ball8ches are a ferocious people, inhabiting the South-east parts of Persia, with the contiguous frontier of India. They have spread in the latter country since Nadyr-Shah's reign; and there is a quarter at Lucknow that bears their name.

first Djemady in the year 1171, when he arrived at Mohan, a town at seven cosses distant from Lucnow. Shudjah-eddo8lah informed of the Prince's circumstances and arrival, advanced to that town, paid him his obeisance, presented him with a Nuzur of one hundred and one Eshrefyes (37), and behaved himself in every thing with the utmost obsequiousness and respect; the moment after, he supplicated the Prince to accept a small present from him: it consisted in one lack of rupees in ready money, a table or qhoan covered with jewels, several such tables covered with precious stuffs, a set of tents, utensils for all kind of offices, and a quantity of arms; to these he added two elephants with their covered and shaded Amharies, and a Taht-revan, or moving throne, with ten baggage-carts. The Prince having cast a glance at that offering of Shudjah-eddo8lah's, invited him to to a closet (38), where he remained two hours with him, after which he dismissed him, making him a present of the Turbant he wore, with his own serpitch and his own paleky. From thence the Prince marched to Ilahabad, where having attached Mahmed-C8ly-Qhan to his cause, they marched together to Azim-abad, as we have mentioned at length in our account of the affairs of Bengal. Whether Shudjah-ed-do8lah would have followed the Prince, is not clear; but at any rate he had at that time much business of his own.

The Imperial Prince, obliged to fly from his father's house, is received every where with respect.

We have already mentioned that the Vizir Ab8l-Manf8r-Qhan, having got himself joined by a body of Marhattas, had ruined the power of the Afghan Ahmed-Bangash, and had given the country of Antervid, alias the Döabah, to those people, for the purpose of insuring their pay and arrears. The Marhattas having extended their routes throughout that country, had cast their eyes on the neighboring Province of A8d, and were biting the finger of regret for not having yet attacked and seized that fine region, as well as the rest of the Rohilah country: and they were yet brooding on their

(37) The value of two Guineas each.

(38) The expression he made use of at that moment, and which has remained as etiquette ever after, was that of Bhai-Navvab, brother-Navvab, brother deputy or Lieutenant; for the word Navvab is only the plural of the Arabic word Naib, altho' it is used in India as a singular.

grief,

Umad-el-Mulk's attempts to embroil the Rohilahs, and Shudja-ed do8lah, serve only to bring them to an understanding.

grief, when Umad-el-Mulk, who was personally incenced against Nedjib-eddö8lah, conceived the design of ruining him intirely; but as in spight of the Abdali king's countenance, he had found means to drive him from the office of Prince of Princes, so he expected that without being apparently concerned in the matter himself, he would as easily drive him from his principality, by committing him with the Marhattas; his intention being to serve Shudjah-ed-do8lah in the same manner, as soon as he had finished Nedjib-eddo8la. Such a scheme being soon gueffed at, brought about an union of concerns between those two Princes, equally threatened; and here we must admire that providence which overfet that well concerted scheme, by bringing friendship and union out of the chaos of aversion and mutual mistrust; and could render the Afghans, those inveterate enemies of Ab8l-Manf8r-Qhan and his family, so many faithful assisters, and so many zealous well-wishers of Shudjah-eddo8lah's prosperity. It is true the latter had cultivated a friendship with Nedjib-ed-do8lah, and with the several princes of Aly-Mahmed-Rohilah's family; but now the common hatred against the Vizir Umad-el-Mulk, and the common dread of an addition of power to the Marhattas, had drawn closer the bands of union between those Princes, so as to verify the famous sentence:

“ Even an enemy will promote thine welfare, if it so pleases God.”

BUT now a general rumor had spread every where that Data-Sindia, nephew to Djingo-Dji had in the first month of the year 1171 marched from Decan at the head of a powerful army; commanded by renowned generals, and with a firm resolution to finish the conquest of Hindostan; and after having spent that year in strengthening his former conquests, to invade the country of the Rohilahs, as well as the dominions of Shudjah-eddö8lah. No wonder, therefore, if the latter joined their councils together, and prepared in concert for their common defence. The Marhatta general's scheme was to cross the Ganga at a certain ford in the winter season, and to fall at once upon the Rohilcund; after which

which he intended to proceed to the conquest of the A8d; and it was with an intent to favor such an invasion, that Umad-el-Mulk, who was at the bottom of all this mighty scheme, and the real inciter of the Marhatta motions, had set out from the capital. Mean while the Marhatta general crossed the Djumnah, and fell at once upon Nedjib-eddö8lah's country. This Prince unable to stand the contest in the field, retired to Suckartall, a difficult post on the Ganga, where the passage of that river may be easily defended, and where he intrenched himself, resolved to stand his ground to the last. The Marhatta general encamped close to him; and for four months together, which the rainy season lasted, no other thunder was heard but that of continual discharges of canon, rockets, and musquetry; and no other lightning seen, but that of famished flaming sabres, and blood-thirsty spears; so that the earth seemed to hold a conversation with the heavens (39). Mean while the Rohilah princes, such as Hafyz-Rahmet-Qhan, and D8ndy-Qhan, and Saad-ollah-Qhan, took care to represent to Shudjah-eddö8lah, "that the Marhattas waited only for the end of the rainy season, and the subsiding of the Ganga, to cross that river at some ford, and fall upon the Rohilcund, which they would either subdue or ruin intirely; in which case it was past doubt that they would turn their steps towards the country of A8d: that such an event must be prevented; for that to defend a country when the enemy is already at your doors, is not the business in question: remedy must be sent before the evil is arrived. March then," added they, "to our assistance; set out immediately, and make haste to join us."

The Marhattas set out with a firm resolution to conquer Hindostan.

Are jointly opposed by the Rohilahs and by Shudjah-eddö8lah.

Those insinuations could not fail to make a deep impression on the mind of Shudjah-eddö8lah, who felt how critical his situation was; and he resolved to be before-hand with the enemy: it was then the height of the rainy

(38) The rainy season in India, is a season of a great deal of thunder and lightning; it begins in May and lasts four or five months; at which time the rain pours sometimes very heavily. The quantity of rain that falls in Bengal may be ninety-two inches, besides six inches dew; which is twice as much as in Italy, and four times as much as in England.

season; and the roads, on account of the incessant rain and the swelling of all the rivulets and brooks, had become so miry as to be impassable; nevertheless he set out from Lucknow, and advanced as far as Shah-abad, where he was stopped by the swelling of the Ganga, and the inundation of the country, which had rendered it impossible to approach nearer to the camp at Sukartal, so as to effect a junction. The Marhatta general hearing of Shudjah-eddö8lah's approach, ordered one of his principal commanders, called Govind-Pandett, to cross the Ganga with twenty thousand horse and foot, and to ruin the whole Rohilcund. This officer having advanced as high as T-hac8r-D8ara (39), a spot that touches the foot of the Northern mountains, forded the Ganga at that place, and spread throughout the Rohilcund, where he burned thirteen hundred villages from Chandpoor down to Amra; after that, he fell upon Hafyz-Rahmet, Doondy-Qhan, and Saad-ollah-Qhan, the Rohilah princes, who were preparing to march to Nedjib-eddö8lah's assistance, and put them to flight. The Afghans, surpris'd at the suddenness of the irruption, and incapable to withstand so great a force, retreated as far as the foot of the mountains of Camä8, where they intrenched themselves in a difficult post; but Shudjah-eddö8lah no sooner heard of this disaster, than he decamped from his post on the beginning of the first Reby, in the year 1173, and marching with the utmost rapidity, he arrived at Chandpoor over against the place where Nedjib-eddö8lah was intrenched. It was high time:—the besieged prince, finding himself abandoned by his countrymen, who were fled amongst the fastnesses of the Comä8, had despaired of being freed from his forlorn situation; and as he had already despaired of his life, he thought only how to sell it to the highest bidder; when his spirits were recruited at once by Shudjah-eddö8lah's approach. The latter had already discovered some of the runners of the Marhatta army; but nothing more had happened, as he advanced to Holavah, which is at

(39) T-hac8r-D8ara, signifies the Lord's palace gate, or temple; and the title is also given to the temple of Djag-ennat, or Jagrenat, all over Bengal and India. Possibly it means here, and the author's words afford a geographical presumption of the probability of this remark, that mountain said to be cut in the form of a cow, under which the Ganga is said to pass in order to enter the plains of Hindostan. Hardevar is the town close to that passage, and the ford at that place is called Tchandy-gatt.

five coffes farther than Chandpoor. There he heard that some of his futils had been fet upon and plundered by the enemy. On the first intelligence of this, he detached the two commanders that were then at hand, with orders to chastise the Marhattas: these were An8b-ghir-Ghoffain, and Amrä8-ghir-Ghoffain, two fakirs in his service, both of great character. After their departure, he got them followed by Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan, at the head of five thousand horses, and by Mir-Bakyr-Qhan-Temeni, with four thousand more, all Moguls. All these had orders to leave the plunderers to their own work, and to push for Govind-Pandett's head-quarters: these officers, all eager for action, commenced by skirmishing; and the engagement growing warmer, they strewed the ground with Marhatta bodies. An8b-ghir the Ghoffain made a great massacre amongst them, and took a hundred prisoners, and a vast booty in horses and cattle. The Marhatta general finding himself so severely handed, fled from the field of battle; and with all the difficulties imaginable he found his way again to the ford, where he had sometime ago crossed the Ganga. But his confusion and that of his followers was so great, that he mistook the part, and lost vast numbers of his people, who were swallowed up by the Ganga, that insatiable crocodile of the sweet flood. The next morning Shudja-eddö8lah after having ordered his music to play in token of victory, marched forward; and the report of it having spread every where, reached also the Afghans, who had been hitherto lurking in the brambles at the foot of the Camä8: it made them move from their holes, and join Shudjah-eddö8la. The two armies after this junction marched on to Succar-tal, where Nedjib-eddö8la was besieged; and they delivered him from the miseries he was undergoing. Nevertheless the Afghans intimidated by the power of the Marhattas, thought proper to send proposals for an accommodation both to Data-Sindia and to Djingo. These two Generals, on the other hand, who had heard of the Abdali-Monarch's coming, and thought of providing for their own safety by advancing as far as Lahor to stop the enemy in Pendjab, were glad to hear the proposals. Data-Sindia signed an agreement, which was sworn to on both

both sides, after which he withdrew his troops, and advanced towards Lahor; Shudjah-eddö8lah, on his side, returned to Lucnow, where he made his entry the twenty-ninth of the first Djemady, in the year 1173.

WHILST Sindiah was besieging Nedjib-eddö8la at Shugur-Tal, by the Vizir Umad-el-Mulk's instigation, he wrote to the latter to come to his assistance: that wicked man, encumbered on one hand by an Emperor whom he knew to be a well-wisher to Nedjib-eddö8lah, and to hold a correspondence with the Abdali-king; and on the other, by an uncle whom he mistrusted full as much, although he actually kept him in confinement; took his party without any scruple. He resolved first of all to make himself easy on those two accounts, and then only to depart: and first he ordered Intyzam-eddö8la, his uncle, to be put to death; and three days after, he provided also for the Emperor: having properly tutored Mehdy-Aly-Qhan, the Cashmirian, he sent him to that Prince. That artful man, went and turned so well the Emperor's mind, that he engaged him to go out and pay a visit to a certain fakyr of uncommon sanctity and character, who performed miracles, and was said to be lately landed at Firoz-Shah's Mausoleum. That imbecile Prince, entrapped by the diabolical suggestions and artifices of that infernal man, took it into his head to pay, incognito, a visit to so extraordinary a personage.—Being arrived at the spot, he was shewn a door before which hung a curtain. But he had a sword in his hand (29): the Cashmirian having taken it with one hand, lifted up the curtain with the other; and the Emperor entered the room; which the Cashmirian immediately shut up, by making the door fast from without; and then dropped the curtain. Yzzeddin's son, Mirza-Babr, who was also son-in-law to the Emperor, no sooner saw these strange motions, than he drew his sabre, and wounded one or two men; But he was instantly overpowered and seized; and being put into a covered Palky, he was sent to the apartment where the Princes of the blood are usually

The vizir murders both his uncle and the emperor Aalemghir.

(39) This sword, which is longer and twice as broad as the common small-swords of Europe, is always in a velvet scabbard, and held upright by the hilt, as a walking cane. It has been a mark of sovereign power, and is still an insigne of authority, always used by persons constituted in high offices.

kept confined (40): mean while the four men concealed within the room, fell upon the defenceless Emperor with their poniards, and having dispatched him in an instant, they threw his body out, and left it stretched upon the strand of the Djumna. There he was soon stripped of his clothes, save only his drawers; in which condition he remained eighteen hours. After which time the Cashmirian above sent some people, who took up the body, and carried it to the Emperor H8mayon's Mausoleum, where they committed it to the earth.

WHILST that mournful tragedy was acting at one part of the palace, another very different scene was passing on the other: that very day Muhi-el-Senna, son to Cam-Bash, and grandson to Aoreng-zibe, was raised to the throne, under the title of Shah Djehan, or "Emperor of the World;" and the Vizir after these executions left the Cashmirian to watch over the new Prince, and marched against Nedjib-edd8lah, actually besieged at Sukar-taal. On his way thither, he learned that a peace had been concluded to the satisfaction of both parties; and being informed at the same time that the Abdali-king was advancing by long marches, he thought proper to secure his person by getting out of his way; and taking shelter in S8r8dj-Mul's country, he resolved to wait there the event of the quarrell between the Abdalies and the Marhattas, and to see what new revolution it might bring about. Anxious about the event, he retired within one of the strongest of S8r8dj-Mul's fortresses.

WE have heretofore mentioned that the Abdali King, after having plundered Dehli, and put every thing to the sword at Mahtra, had marched back in the year 1170, and returned to Cab8l and Candahar, his capitals, leaving his son Timur-Shah in the government of M8ltan and Lahor; with the general Djehan-Qhan, for his adviser. The latter sensible of his own inexperience in government and revenue matters, and convinced how much

(40) Selimgur-Castle:—a fortification which communicates with the Citadel of Dehli by a gate, so as to be a continuation of it.

Troubles in
M8ltan & Pen-
jab.

Adina-Beg-Qhan must be skilled in those subjects, and of how much local knowledge he must be possessed, resolved to avail himself of that man's abilities; and he wrote him several civil letters, endeavoring to soothe his mind; at last he sent him the patent as well as the Qhylaot of the Province of Dö-abah. Adina-Beg-Qhan, softened by this distinction, soon brought the province to a proper order; and the prince and general, convinced now of his abilities, invited him over to Lahor, where they intended to avail themselves of his experience. But this invitation was not relished by the other: he mistrusted their proffers, and had objections to their neighborhood; so that he retired again towards the mountains: and Djehan-Qhan hearing of this desertion, appointed M8rad-Qhan to command in the Dö-abah, directing B8lend-Qhan and Ser-Efraz-Qhan two general officers, to support him with a body of troops. Adina-Beg-Qhan opposed the Syks to this new power: a set of men that had already grown numerous and powerful in the times of the late Mir-Mann8, but who had since greatly benefited by the lessons and the protection they had been for a long time receiving from their tutor, Adina-Beg-Qhan. Incited by his exhortations, those Fakirs or Mendicants become soldiers, took up arms, and being joined by a body of Adina-Beg-Qhan's troops, they fell upon M8rad-Qhan, and gave him a battle, in which B8lend-Qhan being slain, and M8rad-Qhan with Ser-Efraz-Qhan defeated, these two generals fled to Lahor, and reported their case to Djehan-Qhan. After this flight the Syks ruined and desolated the whole province of the Döabab, chiefly at the instigation of Adina-Beg Qhan. At this very time there was encamped in the territory of Shah-Djehan-abad a large army of Marhattas, under the command of Ragonat-Räo, and Shimshir-Bahadyr, (two brothers of Baladjräo) as well as under that of Holcar-Malhar, and some other commanders of character. All these tired of a camp life and panting for action, waited with impatience for some occasion to signalize themselves; when they received several letters from Adina-Beg-Qhan, which requested their coming to his assistance. The Marhattas who always wish for action, and are always upon the watch for such
oppor-

opportunities, and always upon the move, marched immediately to Lahor. Meeting by the way Abd8l-Semed-Qhan, a general appointed by the Abdalies to the command of Ser-Hend, they gave him a bloody defeat, and took him prisoner. From thence they advanced so rapidly to Lahor, that in a few days their runners met those of Djehan-Qhan's, and had some skirmishes together. It was in Shaaban, 1171 of the Hedjrah. Djehan-Qhan observing that the small number of his troops would be overpowered in a campaign by such skirmishers as the Marhattas, thought proper to retreat and to evacuate the country. He took the young Prince Timur-Shah with him, and advancing by long and continual marches, he arrived on the banks of the Atuc (41), which he immediately crossed: leaving behind those treasures, and that furniture and artillery that had been amassing for ages together. The Marhattas pursued him as far as the river Chulum, and then returned, extending mean while their conquests and jurisdiction all over M8ltan, as far as Ghazi-Qhan's valley, and as far as the rivers Chennar and Pehn. But as the rainy season was approaching, they appointed Adina-beg-Qhan governor general of the country, under a yearly tribute of seventy-five lacs clear of all charges, and then returned towards Shah-Djehanabad. From thence, after a short stay, both Ragonat-räo and Shimshir-Bahadyr, marched on towards the Decan; but Djing8 was left in the neighborhood of Dehli, with orders to subdue the several Radjas of Adjmir. The whole scheme seemed well arranged; but by one of those unexpected dispensations of providence, Adina-beg-Qhan departed his life some months after, at the beginning of the year 1172; when Djingo conferred the government of Serhend on Sadye-beg-Qhan who had been one of the trustiest men in the deceased governor's service; and that of the Döabah on that governor's widow; appointing at the same time a Marhatta, called Saba, to the supreme government of Lahor, which the new commandant took care to extend by fresh conquests as far as the shores of the great river Atuc. Mean while Nedjib eddö8la, as well as all the Rohila Princes, intimidated by these con-

Which enable
the Mahrattas
to extend their
conquest as far
as Lahor.

(41) Indus. Look at the Note 81, Section I.

But bring on
their backs the
ferocious Abdalies,
with their
victorious king,

tinual progresses of the Marhattas, concluded that their own persons and dominions must one day in the course of things be necessarily swallowed up by that overbearing power, which was constantly supported by the Vizir Umad-el-Mulk's influence and intrigues; they therefore renewed their supplications to the king of the Durrannies, and besought him to march forth to their assistance. That Prince already shocked to see how little ceremony the Marhattas had made with his son Timur-Shah, and with his governor Djehan-Qhan; and incensed, besides, at the ingratitude of Umad-el Mulk, and at the perpetual cruelties he exercised every where, resolved to comply with the request: convinced therefore that his arrival was ardently expected in Hindostan, he displayed his victorious standards, and turned them towards that country.

They are opposed by the Abdali king.

That prince, setting out from Candahar, crossed the river Atuc in the beginning of the year 1173, and his van guard, meeting with Saba's vanguard, an engagement ensued, in which the Marhattas being worsted, fled to Lahor; but that general hearing that the Abdalies were advancing by long marches, and thinking his troops an undermatch to such men, he judged it expedient to decamp with his whole force, and to retreat towards Dehli; and his retreat was imitated by both Sadyc-beg-Qhan, himself, and by Adina-beg-Qhan's widow, who both thought proper to retire to the mountains. The Abdaly king mean while had taken his route by the mountains of Djamb8, where having received a noble present in money from the Radja of that country, he advanced towards Dehli; and this was the sixth expedition he had made in Hindostan. This happened at the very time when Data-Sindiah, was treating with Nedjib-eddo8lah and Shudjah-eddo8lah about a peace; and this was soon concluded: but the two parties could not yet trust each other, and were upon the move on both sides; when news reached the Marhatta camp that the Abdalies, after having subdued the country of M8ltan and Lahor, were marching to Dehli. At this intelligence Data-Sindia abandoned the negociation with Shudja-eddö8lah and that whole confederacy;

confederacy; and turning his thoughts towards the Abdalies, he advanced against them at the head of eighty thousand horses, all old troops. As to Umad-el-Mulk, who had moved to Data-Sindia's assistance, he no sooner was informed of the Abdalies coming, than fearful of his being likely to be called to an account for his ingratitude and cruelties, as well as trembling for his own safety, he parted company with Data-Sindiah, and took shelter in the hilly country of the Djats, resolved not to move until the horizon should appear cleared. The Radja shewed him the utmost regard, and assigned his residence in one of the best fortresses of his dominions.

MEAN WHILE the Abdali was advancing with ardor from Lahor; but observing by the way that the country of Doabah had been so eaten up by the Marhattas in their many expeditions through it, and that there remained neither grain nor forage for himself, he altered his route, and crossing the Djumnah, he marched into the Anterbid country, which we have already mentioned to be that tract of ground spreading betwixt the great rivers of Ganga and Djumnah; and as these two rivers take their sources in the mountains of Camä8, in the north of Hindia, and after having parted company, join again at Ilah-abad, the Anterbid country of course commences at the foot of those mountains, and ends at the confluent of those two rivers. On the king's crossing the Djumnah to march into the Anterbid, the Afghan Princes, Saad-olla-Qhan, Ahmed-Qhan-Bangash, Nedjib-eddö8la, Hafyz-Rahmet, and Dondi-Qhan, whose dominions lie mostly betwixt those two rivers, joined together, and went in a body to pay their respects to that Monarch. The latter ordered his vanguard to march by another road, and to fall upon Data-Sindiah's troops; who thinking he had to deal only with the runners of that army, commenced skirmishing, and went on in that manner, until he was pushed back by the Abdalies as far as the territory of Shah-Djehan-abad, where they stopped at Badely; at which place, the king having again recrossed the Djumnah, joined his vanguard, and immediately commanded a general attack: a fu-

Battle, of Badely, where the Abdali king slays 70,000 Marhattas in one battle.

rious battle commenced: nothing but slaughter was to be seen; and Data-Sindiha soon became sensible that after having often fought for victory, he was now to fight for his life; he drew away his nephew Djingo from that scene of destruction, and gave him a small escort, with orders to advance into Decan in all speed, and to inform the Ministry of Satara of the state of things. Mean while the engagement becoming so close as to render horses of no use, he alighted with the greatest part of his troops and fought on foot. The Abdalies continued pressing on all sides; and with their rockets and heavy muskets soon came to pour an intolerable fire upon those thronged multitudes; and as they gave no quarter, the whole of that mighty army of Marhattas, together with their general Data-Sindiha, and every commander, without exception, perished in that bloody battle; and the whole was devoured by the inflamed sabre. This battle was fought at Badeli, in the second month Djemady of the year 1173. A date which the Poet Mir-gh8lam-aaly, the Belgramite, has ingeniously conserved in these verses of his:

“ The Durrani-King, having given the whole Marhatta host
 “ For food to his inflamed devouring sabre,
 “ The Poet has thus conserved the chronogram of this date:
 “ The victory became the lot of the illustrious king.”

THE whole Marhatta army having disappeared from the field of battle, together with Data-Sindiha, its general, the Duranni king sent people after Djingo; but the latter had the very day of the battle, marched fifteen cosses (42), and was arrived at Allah-Verdy's Sera, quite spent; from whence he the next day continued his route to Narnol. Mean while intelligence came to the Abdali-camp that the Marhatta Holcar-Malhar was at Sekenderah with an army. This general hearing of the destruction of their grand army, marched with the utmost expedition into the strong country of S8r8dj-Mull, the Djatt, to whom he proposed to join him, and to fight together the Durrani-king. The Gentoo Prince answered that he would not undertake to oppose such troops as the Abdalies, in the field; but that if he was at-

(42) Thirty-four Miles.

tacked, he would retire to a fortress, and there defend himself in the best manner he could. It happened that the Afghan Princes who had come to the Doorani camp, were then busy in carrying a convoy of treasure and grain to that army; but hearing of the Marhattas being so near they had the prudence to send back and beyond the Ganga as much of their convoy as they could with propriety. But the rest was overtaken by Holcar's troops, who soon took possession of it and plundered it thoroughly. The king surprized to hear of this boldness of the Marhattas, sent Shah-Pesend-Qhan and Shah Calende-Qhan, two of his generals, with a body of fifteen thousand horses, to chastise Holcar-Malhar. These two Abdalies, marched with so much expedition, that in one day and night they measured seventy cosses (one hundred and sixty miles) and arrived in the evening at Delhi, where having refreshed themselves the whole next day, they crossed the Djumna at the beginning of the night: and having marched twenty cosses more that night, they at day break arrived at Sekenderah, where they fell at once upon Holkar Malhar; the latter had just time to throw himself, naked as he was, upon a mare, and to get away with about five hundred more in the same condition as himself. The rest, officers and soldiers, without excepting a man, were put to the sword, and intirely exterminated, a few prisoners only excepted; their whole camp, together with their late booty, fell into the hands of the Victors.

Another bloody action, in which the Marhattas are destroyed.

MEAN while the King who had moved from his camp the very day he had detached his two generals after the Marhattas, arrived at Shah-Djehan-Abad; and as the rainy season was at hand, and the territory of that capital had been eaten up by the eternal inroads of those free-booters, he thought proper to cross the Djumnah, and to take up his winter quarters at Sekenderah, twenty cosses from Dehli; a position the more eligible, as Sekenderah is in the country of Anterbid, where most of the Afghan Princes had their dominions: from thence he detached Nedjib-eddo8lah to Lucnow, with orders to persuade Shudjah-eddo8lah to join the victorious
army

army, and to pay him a visit, as he wished to see him. Shudjah-eddö8lah who had already that intention, advanced to meet him as far as Mehdy-p8r, whilst Nedjib-eddö8ah on his side marched from Atava to Cannodj. A treaty was concluded, proper assurances given; and Shudjah-eddö8lah, having appointed his son Mirza-Amani (now Affef-ed-dö8lah) to act as his deputy in his absence, put himself at the head of ten thousand horses, and marched to the Abdalie's camp, in company with Nedjib-eddö8lah. It was at the end of Zilcaadah, of the year 1173. As soon as he was near, Eshref-el-Anvar, surnamed Shah-C8ly-Qhan (43), vizir to the Abdaly king, came out to meet him, and after a small pause, he carried him to visit the tent of audience. The King having commanded his son Tim8r-Shah to embrace the Indian Prince, received him with the utmost favor and distinction (44). At the end of the visit Shudjah-eddö8lah requested leave for his musick and kettle-drums to play in the Abdalie's camp. The King answered mildly, that it was unprecedented, and contrary to rules. "*It may be so for other musick, replied Shudjah-eddö8lah, but mine is the gift of the Emperor of Hindostan, and not of your Majestys; nor am I your subject, but only your hearty well-wisher.*" This bold answer had its effect: the King consented; and it became a custom for Shudjah-eddö8lah's musick to strike up as soon as that of the King's had done playing.

Shudjah waits
on the Abdaly
Monarch — his
bold answer to
that prince.

WHILST all this was happening in the Anterbid, the court of Satara had recieved intelligence of Data-Sindiah's death, and of the destruction of his whole army, as well as of that of Holcar:—Never did a ministry shew more firmness:—without betraying the least dismay, it was resolved to send another army, commanded by Seda-Sy8, alias Bahä8, nephew to Baladjiräo, and by Djing8 himself: This army was to be composed of picked men, as was the former, and proved still more numer-

(43) The King's soldier or slave;—for the word C8l in Turkish admits both those significations, altho' it rather inclines to the first.

(44) It is observable that Shudjah-eddö8lah was not received as an equal, for the Monarch would have been obliged to stand up and to embrace him; neither as a subject, for there is no mention of any Nazir being presented, but as an independent Prince of inferior rank; and therefore he got him embraced by his son.

ous; and it was likewise to be supported by a numerous artillery, mounted and served in the European manner, under the command of Hibrahim-Qhan-Gardi. The whole was to be under the orders of Vafvafs-Räo, commander in chief; the intention being to revenge their former bloody defeat, to recover the honor of the national character in the world, and to put an end to the Empire of the family of Babr, by raising to the throne of Hindostan Vafvafs-Räo, himself, a royal Prince, of the Marhatta blood. Seda-Sy8 having put himself at the head of that mighty host, arrived, after long marches and much vaunting, in the province of Acbar-abad, where S8-r8dj-Mull thought proper to pay him a visit by Holcar-Malhar's mediation. The Marhatta general, to do him more honor, marched out of his camp, and met him at one coffee distance: and the next day Umad-el-Mulk himself joined him at Mahtra. In a consultation held at that spot it was resolved to render themselves masters of the Djumna, by bringing Shah-Djehan-abad in their power. This article being settled, the Marhatta General marched immediately, and entered Shah-Djehan-abad, at the end of the year 1173. Yac8b-aaly-Qhan-Behmenzi, a brother of Shah-Veli-Qhan, commanded in the citadel, with a small garrison of Abdalies.—The Marhattas informed of the smallness of that force, gave an escalade at the Affed Tower and the Qhyzri Gate, whilst they made a false attack on the opposite side at the Dehli Gate. At both places a few Abdalies and Moguls made their appearance, and killed many people with their large muskets. The Marhatta general, who had taken his quarters in Saadollah-Qhan's palace, commenced another attack from thence, under cover of the hall of audience, encouraged thereto by the scanty defense he could perceive at the wall, and the little artillery he observed at Selimgur Castle, from whence they now and then fired a large cannon in the air. Animated by these appearances, the Marhattas advanced to the Qhyzri Gate and were endeavouring to break it open, but in vain: the gate was covered with sheets of brass, and set thick with iron nails, that jutted out to the length of more

The Marhattas, undismayed, send another mighty army into Hindostan, commanded by a young prince of the blood.

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(43) The King's soldier or slave;—for the word C8l in Turkish admits both those significations, altho' it rather inclines to the first.

(44) It is observable that Shudjah-eddö8lah was not received as an equal, for the Monarch would have been obliged to stand up and to embrace him; neither as a subject, for there is no mention of any Nazur being presented, but as an independent Prince of inferior rank; and therefore he got him embraced by his son.

ous; and it was likewise to be supported by a numerous artillery, mounted and served in the European manner, under the command of Hibrahim-Qhan-Gardi. The whole was to be under the orders of Vafvas-Räo, commander in chief; the intention being to revenge their former bloody defeat, to recover the honor of the national character in the world, and to put an end to the Empire of the family of Babr, by raising to the throne of Hindostan Vafvas-Räo, himself, a royal Prince, of the Marhatta blood. Seda-Sy8 having put himself at the head of that mighty host, arrived, after long marches and much vaunting, in the province of Acbar-abad, where S8-r8dj-Mull thought proper to pay him a visit by Holcar-Malhar's mediation. The Marhatta general, to do him more honor, marched out of his camp, and met him at one coffee distance: and the next day Umad-el-Mulk himself joined him at Mahtra. In a consultation held at that spot it was resolved to render themselves masters of the Djumna, by bringing Shah-Djehan-abad in their power. This article being settled, the Marhatta General marched immediately, and entered Shah-Djehan-abad, at the end of the year 1173. Yac8b-aaly-Qhan-Behmenzi, a brother of Shah-Veli-Qhan, commanded in the citadel, with a small garrison of Abdalies.—The Marhattas informed of the smallness of that force, gave an escalade at the Affed Tower and the Qhyzri Gate, whilst they made a false attack on the opposite side at the Dehli Gate. At both places a few Abdalies and Moguls made their appearance, and killed many people with their large muskets. The Marhatta general, who had taken his quarters in Saadollah-Qhan's palace, commenced another attack from thence, under cover of the hall of audience, encouraged thereto by the scanty defense he could perceive at the wall, and the little artillery he observed at Selimgur Castle, from whence they now and then fired a large cannon in the air. Animated by these appearances, the Marhattas advanced to the Qhyzri Gate and were endeavouring to break it open, but in vain: the gate was covered with sheets of brass, and set thick with iron nails, that jutted out to the length of more

The Marhattas, undismayed, send another mighty army into Hindostan, commanded by a young prince of the blood.

than a foot (45); nor could they make any impression there in four hours time. Mean while about five hundred men, finding not one man upon the Affed Tower, got upon the top of it, and being in this manner within the citadel, they advanced to the Imperial hall of audience, from whence they carried whole bundles of booty which they threw down the wall to their friends below, without having once thought of setting the gate open from within; nor did the troops without mind any thing of the matter, being intent only on receiving and securing the plunder. Whilst these people were occupied in this manner, a dozen of Abdalies and Moguls, coming out of Selimghur, fired upon those men that were plundering the hall of audience, many of whom they killed; and falling upon the rest, sword in hand, they drove them out of the palace: the Marhattas having taken fright, got upon the top of the tower again, and jumping down had a great number of men maimed and wounded; but mean while they gave up a fortrefs in which they had fairly found entrance. The Marhatta generals informed of this whole affair, furrounded the citadel by an intrenchment, from whence they commenced firing on all that appeared upon the wall. As to Umad-el-Mulk and S8r8dj-mull, who both had only conformed to the times in coming so far with the Marhattas, they thought proper to remain inactive spectators of this siege. In this state of things Seda Sy8 applied to Hibrahim-Qhan-Gardi, who had an European artillery, mounted and served in the European manner, and whom he had brought from Decan for such forts of services. Hibrahim-Qhan placed three pieces of cannon on the bank of the Djumnah, and made such a brisk fire upon the buildings within the citadel, that in a little time he was found to have done much havoc in the pavilions on the Affed Tower, and the Octagon Tower, as well as on those parts of the Imperial palace called Divan-Qhafs, Reng-mahal, Moti-mahal (46),

The Marhattas take Dehli.

(45) It must be observed that gates in India, being always covered by some work, cannot be broke but by a petard, a machine which the natives know nothing of; or by pushing against them elephants barded with Iron; or by setting fire to them. Hence the propriety of those long nails, jutting out from a bottom of brass. The nails are one inch square at the bottom.

(46) Divan-Qhafs, Reng-Mahal, Moti-Mahal;—the private hall of audience,—the painted apartment,—the pearl apartment.

and

and Royal Tower. But the wall itself suffered no impression; and the musket-firing business went on as usual on both sides. The governor finding that his ammunition was running short, proposed to surrender the citadel, on condition of his having leave to march out, with safety of life, honor, and baggage; and this being accepted by the Marhatta generals, who wished no better the governor came out with his little garrison, and took up his quarters in Aly-Merdan-Khan's palace, where having rested a while, he crossed the Djumnah in boats, and went to join his master. And thus the Imperial catadel, the residence of the Hindostan Emperors, with the Imperial apartments and the whole of the Imperial Seraglio, fell into the hands of the Marhatta Seda-Sy8. Such was the fate allotted to it by the all-knowing Disposer of events! The general appointed Tar8-Shungur, a Brahman, to command in that fortress, and he gave him a sufficient garrison. This Brahman had been sent several times to Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, on the part of the Marhattas, with proposals of peace, and as often had been refused. This particular I was told of by the Poet-Mir-Gh8lam-aly, the Belgramite, who assured me that Shudjah-eddö8lah at last answered the envoy in these terms,

*" That the Marhattas, and especially their Brahmans (47), having acquired
 " so much power in Decan, had become overbearing, and withal so covetous,
 " that they could not bear that any one but themselves should enjoy any
 " character in the world, or a corner of land, that might afford him a sub-
 " sistence: that their faithlessness, and eternal disregard to treaties, had tired
 " the patience of mankind; and that the time was now coming to punish them
 " for their eternal injustices, and their daily violations of the most sacred ties
 " amongst mankind: that it was to save their honor, their families, and their
 " subsistences, that the people of Hindostan had applied to the Abdaly king for
 " protection and assistance; and that the latter had come for that sole purpose,
 " and in the full hope, that to inflict a condign chastisement upon the Mar-*

Proposes an accommodation, which is refused in a very taunting answer.

(47) This distinction made by Shudjah-eddö8lah was grounded on this particular; that the original, but yet only the nominal sovereign, of the Marhatta Empire, is a Radjp8t that resides at Satara, and is styled the Sah8-Radja; whereas the real, or if you will, the acting Emperor, who is of the Brahmanical or Sacerdotal tribe, resides at P8nah, at two short days north-west of Satara; and is often styled his Nana, or maternal uncle, although he goes in general by the name of his Pish-va, or Precursor, that is, his agent.

“hattas would prove but a small affair; to talk, therefore, of peace now to him, looked quite preposterous.” The Marhattas, receiving no better answer, prepared for battle: they were at this time abandoned by their ally S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt, who was shocked to see their shameless rapacity, and remorseless impudence: he quitted their camp without leave, and retired to his fortress, of Belem-gur. What had so much shocked the Djatt prince was this,—they had stripped the Imperial hall of audience of its wainscoting, which was of silver, elegantly enamelled, and had sent it to the mint; and without any respect for things, held sacred by all mankind, they had laid their sacrilegious hands upon the gold and silver vessels consecrated to the use of the monument of the sacred foot, and of the mausolæum of saint Nizam-eddin: nor did they spare Mahmed Shah’s mausolæum, which they stripped of its incensory (48), candelabres, lamps, and other utensils, all of solid gold, and of exquisite workmanship: all of which were torne away and sent to the mint.

AFTER having done all this havoc, the Marhatta general resolved to decamp: the Doäb occupied by an army, did not afford him any prospect of subsistence; and every thing in the territory of the capital was eaten up and consumed. He was urged doubtless by the necessity of assembling and enjoying all the merits of those pious and meritorious actions, which he had performed in that unfortunate capital, by stripping it of its sacred ornaments, and by plundering the nobility and people of what little they had saved from the hands of former ravagers. Resolved to quit that neighbourhood, he deposed and confined that pageant of an Emperor, Shah-Djehan, and placed in his stead, Mirza-Djuvan-baqht (49), son to Aly-Goher, the fugitive Prince, who was then enduring distresses, and waging war in Bengal.

(48) The text has the words Ood-dan, a vessel for burning agalla wood; which last is a resinous wood, that sells for twice its weight in silver. It is observable that in th^e tomb and vault, opened about the year 1766, by Captain Adams, at Gour, that immense capital of Bengal, he found such another vessel at the foot of a Royal body, perfectly well preserved for four hundred years, with two vessels for beetle or paun, and some arms and lamps, &c.

(49) These two words signify of a youthful fortune.

The vizirship he conferred on Shudjah-eddö8lah, pluming himself upon what he thought a piece of policy very likely to embroil the latter with the Abdaly King: this done, he confirmed Tar8-shungar in the government of the citadel, and marched with his whole army to Cundj-pr8a, where the two Zemindars of that tract, Abdol-Semed-Qhan the Abdali, and Nedjabet-Qhan the Rohilah, were encamped with commission to provide convoys for the Abdali King's army. This Abdol-Semed-Qhan is the same who fell in the hands of the Marhattahs when commanding at Ser-hend, and had found means to escape: he commanded then in the mud-fort. It was in the second Rebi of the year 1174. Sedä-Sy8 being arrived before that fort, it surrendered immediately. As his European artillery enabled him to do a great deal of execution in a little time, Hibrahim-Qhan-Gardi soon made a breach; and an assault being given, both Abdol-Semed-Qhan and C8t8b-Qhan were slain, and the place was thoroughly plundered and sacked. The Abdaly King hearing of this piece of cruelty, done almost within his sight, was equally surprized and incensed: an alteration was observed in his colour. Resolved to chastise the Marhattas, he decamped; and although the rainy season was not at an end, and the Djumnah did not yet afford any ford, nevertheless he marched; and under Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's guidance he advanced to the passage of Baqhsäiet, which is close under the walls of Shah Djehan-abad; and advancing on horseback in the water, he was followed by his whole cavalry, some fording the river, and others swimming over: his numerous army took the hint, and found means to follow with all their baggage. Seda-Sy8, surprized at his daringness, and at the quickness of the Abdalies, conceived that instead of fighting them at C8ndj-p8ra, as had been his intention, it would be better to reconnoitre for two or three days together, in order to encamp at a commodious post near to Panip8t. At this time he had no less than forty thousand effective horse, all old soldiers and picked men; but this was only the army under his own particular command; for there were three other armies, severally commanded by Holcar-Malhar, Shimshir-Bahadyr, and the prince of the blood,

blood, Vafvafs-räo; which laſt was alſo the commander in chief. All theſe were exceedingly aſſuming; and ſo proud of their paſt victories, as to make no account of any troops but thoſe immediately under their own command; and every one of them ſeemed to reach with his forehead to the cupola of the third heaven. We muſt alſo mention Hibrahim-Qhan-Gardi, who commanded twelve thouſand ſepahies, armed with flint-muskets, beſides ſome artillery mounted and ſerved in the European manner: he belonged in particular to Seda-Sy8. But what is ſingular, with all theſe numerous troops, and with all their boaſting, as ſoon as Seda-Syo's troops began to feel the pulse of the Abdalies, in a few ſkirmiſhes, they conceived themſelves to be an under-match for them; and, contrary to the Marhatta cuſtom, and to their uſual method of warfare, their generalliſſimo retired beyond Pani-p8t, where he ſurrounded his army with his baggage, round which he planted his cannon; and this was ſo very numerous that his intrenchment might have borne the appellation of a wall that vomited fire and flames. Not ſatisfied with that, he added another intrenchment, made up of the earth of a ſoſſe which he ordered to be dug up immediately: and it was hardly finiſhed, when the victorious army of the Abdalies came up, and ſpread every where round the Marhatta intrenchment; ſo that every day there was ſome engagement in which canon with muſquets and rockets, and arrows with ſabres and ſpears, were continually brought to action, and continually held converſation together; and every day produced a deal of bloodſhed. But the worſt of it was, that the Abdalies, eternally roaming round the Marhatta intrenchment, did not ſuffer a corn of grain or a blade of graſs to find its way thither; inſomuch that nothing being brought to the Marhatta camp, this nation experienced for the firſt time the horrors of want, and learned from experience what it was that the world called diſtreſs and famine. For every part of their camp was blocked up and beſieged, ſave their rear, which was open towards Lahor; and this too, the Abdalies found means to infeſt, having taken two or three convoys that were coming from thence. The Abdali king ſeeing that the enemies choſe rather to ſuffer the hard-
ſhips

ships of distress, than to quit their intrenchment, resolved to give a general assault. It was the twenty-eighth of the second Rebi in the year 1174. Djehan-Qhan and Shah-Pesend-Qhan with Nedjib-eddö8lah, were to lead the Van: Shudjah-ed-dö8lah and Ahmed-Qhan-Bangash, with the other three Rohila princes, were to head the main; and the King himself, with his Vizir, Veli-Qhan, surnamed Eshref-el-Anvar, brought up the corps de reserve. The Marhattas on seeing this disposition, came out of their intrenchment and took their post a little farther, at full one arrow's throw in the plain; the combat became furious at once, and a continual slaughter took place between the two parties, from mid-day as far as the evening; so that there remained but one hour of sun-shine, when the Rohilahs, under Nedjib-ed-dö8lah, broke through a furious storm of musquets and rockets, and penetrated on foot within the intrenchment, where they commenced fighting with hand-blows. In this action Belvent-Räo, nephew to Seda-Sy8, and his right arm in every thing, being struck by a musquet-ball, fell dead from his horse; and the engagement would have been final, had not the night fallen upon the combatants, and by throwing her sable veil between them, put it out of their power to distinguish the friend from the foe. The Rohilahs after distinguishing themselves in so glorious a manner, came out of the intrenchment, and returned to their camp. It was after this furious engagement that intelligence came that Govind-Pandett, a Marhatta general, at the head of ten or twelve thousand horses, was coming from Atava, with a large convoy of treasure and provisions: that he was already at Shah-Dera, in the high road over against Shah-Djehan-abad; and that his intention was, first of all to plunder Mahtra, and some other dependencies of Nedjib-ed-dö8lah, and then to cross the Djumna at C8ndjp8ra, from whence he expected to join Seda-Sy8's army. The king informed of all these particulars, dispatched Atäi-Qhan, and the son of the late Abdol-femed-Qhan, with five thousand horses, in hopes of their intercepting the convoy. The two generals departed immediately, and crossing the Djumnah at the ford of Agra and Bacshaïet they advanced to Shah-dera; where having put

Bloody actions
between the Mar
hattas and the
Abdalies.

to

to the sword Tar8-Shungur, the governor, with his whole garrison, they proceeded to Ghazi-eddin-Nagur, a town at six cosses only from the capital; and there also they put to the sword a body of Marhattas stationed on purpose to meet the convoy. Continuing their march with the utmost rapidity, they arrived at the very spot where Govind-Pandet was just arrived; and falling upon him at once, they destroyed him and his whole army. After this rapid execution, they cut his head, and taking possession of the convoy, they returned to the Abdaly camp. This Govind-Pandet is the same man, who having been detached from the camp at Sukur-tal, had crossed the Ganga, and ruined so much country, and had fled back again, after having received a severe check from Shudjah-eddö8lah. This massacre happened the 29th of the second Djemady, in the year 1174.

The Marhattas blockaded in their camp come to a pitched battle.

MEAN while the blockade of the Marhatta camp continued; and the besieged commenced to suffer from the immondices of all sorts, in which it necessarily abounded: the smell became insupportable: famine was already felt: numbers of poor people were daily swept away, totally famished; and a mortality also, the constant result of famine and uncleanness, was committing its ravages: hundreds of people dropped down every day. In this extremity, the besieged generals consulted together; and it was unanimously agreed to, "that as the army was consuming itself with famine and mortality, it was better, whilst their bodily strength was yet unimpaired, to march out and fight the enemy, be the event what it would."—With this resolution, they marched out: It was on a Thursday, the sixth of the second Djemady, in the year 1174 of the Hedjah. Hibrahim-Qhangardi marched at the head with his artillery; the rest of the army followed in order, and advanced with a slow pace towards the Abdali-camp, where the troops were mounted and ready, but where they had orders to let the Marhattas advance farther within the plain. They advanced in effect, filling the air with cries of Hari-Har; and their Mogul cavalry advanced to a skirmish with the enemy, but they were terribly handled by the Abdali van, commanded by Shudjah-eddö8lah, by Nedjib-eddö8lah, and by many

ny other illustrious commanders, whose flaming sabres had long thirsted after their prey: these having called to their assistance the divine Disposer of victories advanced upon the enemy, whose Mogul skirmishers and Marhatta light cavalry, unable to bear a well directed fire made by the Rohillahs armed with heavy muskets, were thrown into confusion, and forced to retreat within the intrenchment; here the run-aways mixing with the troops stationed there, communicated their disorder, and carried them away in their flight. Seda-Sy8 and Vafvafs-räo, without taking much notice of the disorder in camp, advanced to the charge, with drawn sabres, and spears couched; and falling upon Shudjah-eddö8lah and Nedjib-eddö8lah, a warm engagement ensued, in which the air was filled, and the Abdali army deafened, with their war cry of *Harri-Hur* (50). The two Hindostany princes advanced to the encounter, supported by the Abdali king in person, who fought at the head of his troops, and exhibited amazing proofs of personal prowess. Under the eyes of such a general, every one exerted himself to the utmost: a furious engagement took place, and for full two hours there arose such a cloud of dust that none of the combatants could distinguish the earth from the heavens. From mid-day to four o'clock nothing could be heard, or seen but a furious slaughter which was going on at an incredible rate. At that time only, the dust having subsided a little, a whole field was discovered interspersed with an infinite number of Marhattas, who had all set out in company for the region of Nothingness.—they were led thither by Vafvafs-räo, the heir of the Marhatta Empire, a prince yet in the bloom of youth and beauty, who fell by a musket-ball: and Seda-Sey8, the principal general, with his bravest officers, closed the rear of that departed army. The corps de reserve was brought up by Djingo, the brave Djingo! who that day said farewell to his existence. The rest of the generals followed promiscuously, with all their officers and sol-

(50) We are told that these words signify *God*, and *Maha Deo*, the great saint, or the first man. Might not these words amount to a general confession in the mouth of soldiers going to the charge?—for it is observable that the Gentoos, who always bathe or purify themselves in the morning, never fail several times to repeat the word *Hara*, which signifies both *I have left* and *I have sinned*.

diers; and it was in that order that this departed army at once presented itself on the frontiers of eternity. Hibrahim-Qhan-Gardi was taken prisoner, and for a while suffered to enjoy the pleasure of having escaped the general massacre; when an order came for his being beheaded; and that man who had made so much noise in the world plunged at once into the abyss of eternity (51). The field of battle looked like a tract sown with tulips; and

Battle of Panipat, where 80,000 Marhattas are destroyed.

as far as the fight could extend, nothing could be discovered but bodies stretched at the foot of bodies, as if they had been asleep, or marshalled by art. After the battle two and twenty thousand women, girls, and children of both sexes, some of them persons of distinction, and related to the most illustrious of the slain, were distributed amongst the victorious, who plundered an incredible quantity of money, jewels, and fine stuffs; nor is there coming at any computation of that mighty sum. The whole of that numerous artillery, with two hundred thousand oxen and cows, fifty thousand horses, five hundred large elephants, and an infinity of camels and mules, fell into the hands of the victorious. The date of this mighty victory has been conserved in the chronogram of the following quatrain, by the care of the illustrious poet Mir-G8lam-aaly, of Belgram, the same who composed the chronogram on the victory over of Data-Sindiha: it is as follows:

“ The valiant King has put to the sword Seda-Sy8, as he has already done Data,
 “ He has finished his campaign, as he has commenced it, by a memorable victory;
 “ And the querulous reed of the Poet has again sung:
 “ The D8rrani-King has again gained the victory!”

SOME thousands of Marhattas, who had escaped the sword, and were rambling about without any commanders, were attacked by the peasants; who incited not only by that cowardly disposition which is innate with their vile nature, but also by the remembrance of what they had suffered from those free-booters, did not spare them; but began by plundering, stripping, and killing as many as they could come at. Shimshir-Bahadyr, half bro-

(51) It was to punish him as an apostate, who although a Mussulman himself, fought against Mussulmen in an army of infidels.

ther to Baladji-räo, by a dance-woman, was by the assistance of a body of plunderers, ferried over the stream that parts this world from eternity: and this being the last of the commanders of character among the Marhattas, it may be said that not one of them escaped with life. Amongst the inferior officers, only Petil-Mahadji-Sindiah, and Holcar Malhar, found means to get off; the latter, after an infinity of adventures, contrived to reach Malva, from whence he proceeded to P8nah, to be the harbinger of disastrous tidings. Baladji-rao, amazed at so shameful and bloody a defeat, would not survive it: he pined away with sorrow and discontent, and in five months and a few days after, he went to join his son and brother. Some days before this battle, a certain saint of their's, called Sad-dë8, but fir-named Dudjutt, who resided at Aoreng-abad, went in haste to join his prototype, as if to shew his followers, then in the field, the way to the regions of hell.

It ought to be remarked, that Baladji-räo, some days before his death, had directed that the shares usually allowed to the washerman, the writer, the barber, the carpenter, the plough-smith, and some others, upon the crop raised in each village, should be seized for his use; which, in so extensive an empire, amounted to no inconsiderable sum: but Providence, that watchful mother of the injured, did not suffer him to enjoy the fruits of his covetousness; for he died at a time when this regulation had not extended to the distant parts of his dominions.

O! ye powerful, that injure the innocent,
How long is your reign likely to last?

THE Abdali king, after so important a victory, gave some repose to his army, and then marched into the territory of Dehli; where he spent a few days, and where he bestowed the empire of Hindostan on Shah-aalam, alias Aaly-goher; the office of vizir on Shudjah-ed-doulah; and the dignity of prince of princes on Nejib-ed-dö8lah. He recommended them to each other, exhorted them to union and concord, and ordered that Nejib-ed-dö8lah

The victori-
ous Abdali mo-
narch retires to
dominions.

dö8lah should reside in Shah-Djehan-abad, to take care of Mirza-Djuvan-baht's person; with injunctions to send as soon as possible for Shah-aalam, his father, who was then waging war in Bengal. He likewise sent for Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, and recommended him to be submissive to Shah-aalem, whom he was to bring over and assist with all his might. After this injunction, he made him a present of his own arms, with a horse and a superb qhylaat, and dismissed him to his principality. The monarch, after having dispatched some other business, which detained him as far as the sixteenth of Shaaban, quitted the gardens of Shaleh-mar, in the environs of Dehli, and set out for Candahar by continual marches, leaving by the way a deputy-governor at Lahor. It was in the year 1174.

Singular ap-
pearance of a
young man slain

AFTER his departure Shudjah-eddo8hlah set out for Ä8d in the blessed month of Ramazan, and he was advancing by continual marches, when there happened an event that deserves to be mentioned. One of his friends, called Sëid-Saleh, surnamed the Veridic, who was then with him, used to recount to me, that as Shudja-ed-dö8lah was advancing to join the Abdali king, he met, about the town of Secandarah, a detachment of a kind of men different from the Marhattas, (these last having made their appearance only three or four months after) and had an engagement with them; but my friend having occasion to pass that way sometime after, he found the plain covered with bodies half eaten or rotten, amongst which he was surprised to see a body which seemed to be betwixt twenty-five and thirty. It had a large pair of whiskers, a beard close shaved, with a clean hangreca upon it's back; and shewed a freshness of complexion quite exempt from any putrefaction. My friend was then with Mollah, or Doctor Abbass, the Mazenderanian, and three or four others, who were as much amazed as himself. Nine months after, when Shudja-ed-dö8lah was returning to his dominions after having taken leave of the Abdali king, the army chanced to pass again over that same field, at which time my friend had an opportunity of looking over that plain again, where amongst a quantity of bones with which he

was

was amazed to see again that same young man, with his cloathes on, and the body as entire as ever, without it's having lost either beard or whiskers.—Mollah-Abbafs, astonish'd at what he saw, exclaimed that this young man surely must have been a Sëyd (52); and sending for some pionneers, as the army was so near, he ordered a fossë to be made for him. Some of the by-standers, who had winding sheets (53) in their bags, wanted to strip the young man, and to put a winding sheet about him. But this was objected to by the Mollah, who observed, that the body must be left unstripp'd, as the clothes it had on were its proper winding sheet. This being agreed to, they all joined in prayers, and then committed it to the earth.

“ Who could guess that in the depths of the sea,

“ A cornelian should be found close to a heap of pebbles?

To return to our narrative, Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, without tarrying at Lucnow, came out and marched down to Sëyd-p8r, close to Benares, as we have already mentioned in a former volume; whilst Shah-Alem himself was quitting the neighbourhood of Azim-abad, to come to the same town; there, Shudjah-ed-dö8lah having paid his respects to the prince, took him to

(52) The good Mollah was a partial observer, or no observer at all: there are thousands of such spots in India, which being impregnated strongly with salt-petre and other salts, will preserve a body fresh; and we have seen a French drunkard, dug up by chance, quite ruddy and blue, after being buried full nine months.

(53) There is so much difference betwixt the European and the Persian notions, (which last in general give the ton to the Hindostanies), that those men that are so provident with their winding sheets, as to carry them to camp, never think of making a will; and by much the greatest part of them, die intestate. However every kind of cotton will not do for a Persian or an Indian, easy in his circumstances: it must be a piece of stuff that has been rubbed, not to the Prophet's tomb, or to that of Hassen his gran-son's, (which are both at Medina), but to Hussein's tomb, which is at Kerbelah near Bagdad: he, and not his father, nor brother, nor grand-father, being the idol of the nation: for Aly is only their god. Some of these keffens or winding sheets, are written all over with the whole Coran in characters of sandal-dust mixed with water; and cost from two or three hundred, to a thousand, and two thousand rupees; and we protest, upon honor, that we know many a man that has defrauded his creditors, to procure such a keffen; and more than one virtuous matron, who on getting up from a severe illness, has become complaisant over and over in order to procure such a pass-port; and on finding it at a higher price than she had thought, prostituted her virgin daughter into the bargain, to make up the necessary sum for such an omnipotent purchase. “ At last, Madam,” said her astonished suitor, “ my stars have worked your consent—after four years solicitation I have the happiness to see you”—“ Do not rejoice so much, sir,” replied the lady: “ accus'd be she that would have listened to your messages, but for the illness I have had, and the absolute necessity of providing for my salvation—I may die”—and here her tears interrupted her voice.

Djo8fy, over against Ilah-abad, where he threw a bridge of boats upon the Ganga, and crossed over with him on the fifth Zilhidj of that same year; after which he encamped at Ilah-abad, which he made the center of his victorious standards. From thence he advanced to Djadj8, where he took up his winter quarters. In a few days, he turned away all the Marhatta collectors, and established throughout the whole Anterbid Shah-Aalem's government; after which, as soon as the rainy season was over, he decamped on the sixth of the second Rebi, in the year 1175, and marched to Calpy; after having appointed his favorite minister, Beni-Bahadyr, for his deputy all over his dominions. From Calpy, which he took out of the hands of the Marhattas, he carried the Emperor beyond the Djumnah, where he took some rest at the fort of Djehanfi; and as the Marhatta governor refused to surrender, he was forced to it, after his fort had been battered for some time. Hitherto Shudjah-ed-dö8lah had acted as a Vizir, but he had not yet received the investiture of that high office. This ceremony took place on the

Shudjah-ed-
dö8lah appointed
Vizir to Shah-
Alem.

twenty-first of that month, at which time he received from the Emperor a qhylaat of seven pieces, with four plates of jewels and gems, and these were followed by a chaplet of pearls which was thrown over his neck; whilst he was presented with the casket of Vizir, which was of gold studded with jewels. Three days after, his son, Mirza-Amani, was honored with the superintendence of the Gh88l-qhana, or of the private apartments: Nor is it our intention to say nothing more of this prince; but it becomes necessary at present, that we should attend for awhile to the affairs of Decan.

WE have already mentioned that Baladji-räo having pined away in despair for the destruction of his armies, he had gone to join his brother and his eldest son.—The crown, therefore, devolved to his youngest son, Mad8-Räo, then a child; as did the management of affairs, to his brother, Ragonat-Räo. This happened at the end of the year 1174. The next year his neighbour Nizam-aly-Qhan, now fir-named the second Nizam-el-Mulk, expecting to make his profit of that minority, put himself with his brother, Selabet-

Djung

Djung, at the head of a numerous army; and for some secret reasons which have not transpired, he set out from the fortress of Bedér, where he had been for some time encamped, and marched directly to Aoreng-abad: But he was prevented by Ragonat-Räo, who taking the young Mad8-räo with him, quitted P8nah at the head of a numerous army, and marched to Shah-gur, where the two armies came in sight of each other; and much skirmishing took place for several days; when Nizam-aly, leaving his heavy baggage and other impediments at Aoreng-abad, set out with a firm intention to push for P8nah. It was the 23d of that month, in the same year. The Marhattas threw themselves in his way; but he led them, beating over and over as far as within seven cosses distance from that capital. There was in his way a town called T8tca, upon the shore of the Ganga of Decan (54), a place that contained a Gentoo temple, extremely revered, and where the Marhattas had raised many noble buildings: these he levelled with the ground, breaking the idol itself to pieces; and he was going to serve P8na in the same manner, when a defection appeared in his army. For Mir-Moghol, surnamed Nassyr el-Mulk, sixth son of Nizam-el-Mulk's, having conceived some disgust against his brothers, joined his concerns with Radjah Ram-chunder, a commander of importance in Nizam-aly's army; and both departed and joined the Marhattas: this officer was shocked at the little regard shewn to the Gentoo temple, and thought his conscience concerned. This defection happened the twenty-seventh of the first Djemady of the year 1174: the Gentoo commander carried his whole brigade with him, and it was a numerous one. After this junction, matters altered considerably; and the Marhattas, who had the worst all along this campaign, now spread themselves round the Mussulman army on the very next day, and commenced a furious canonade. This kind of war-fare not pleasing the valorous and the zealous in Nizam-Aly's army, they advanced

Nizam-Ally avails himself of these broils to force the Marhattas to a very advantageous treaty.

(54) This Ganga (and that word signifies only River in the old Hind8 language) is also called Godaveri; it passes at Radjmenderi, and empties itself in the Bay of Bengal by several mouths, the principal of which are that of Narfapoor and that of Indjiram. It may be observed that the Generic word *Gang* is that which has been given a Greek termination to, *Gang-es*. The Godaveri, as well as the Krishna, are as much revered in Decan, as the Ganges is in Bengal.

beyond

beyond their own artillery, and proceeded to hand-blows; when mixing with those men that fought at a distance, they stretched vast numbers of them in the field of battle; amongst which were several relations of both Mad-h8-räo and Ragonat-räo, which latter fought on foot that day. The Marhattas, sensible now that they were an under-match for their enemies, thought proper to retreat, and to encamp at a distance, in order to consult together. They found that all their efforts had hitherto availed nothing; and that the enemy was now at seven coffes from P8nah, which he intended to set on fire; and if that comes to pass, said they, what are we fighting for? They were also much affected by a deputation of the inhabitants of P8nah, who asked them, *whether they intended to see their habitations on fire, and to deliver their children and families to the Mus-fulmen?* the Marhattas greatly affected by this remonstancce, as well as by their own situation, sent Ambassadors to Nizam-Ali, to treat of an accommodation: Nizam-Ali consented, and sold them a peace for several districts, which they ceded to him from the provinces of Aoreng-abad and Beder, to the amount of twenty-seven lacks a year. This treaty took place the sixth of the second Djemady; just one year after the Abdalies had gained that memorable victory over the Marhattas. Nizam-Ali, after so advantageous a peace, marched back to his Capital, and by the way he turned towards Ram-chundur's country, to punish him for his desertion.— That whole tract was given up for plunder to the army; and it was completely ravaged and ruined. The rainy season setting-in at this time (and this was about the fourteenth of Zilhij in the year 1175,) he took up his winter-quarters at Beder; and that same day he confined in the citadel his brother Selabet-Djung: a confinement in which he lived fifteen months; after which death came to his relief; and having delivered him from the confinement of his prison, it carried his soul to the spacious plains of eternity, where she let it loose. His body was buried in a corner of the Mausoleum of Shah-Mahmed-M8ltani. Whilst Nizam-Aly was at Beder, he received from Aly Goher, now stiled Shah-Aalem, the qhy-
laat

Selabet Djung's
death.

laat of the government of the whole Decan, vacant by the demise of Se-labet Djung, the Lord of the Kingdoms: this Qhylaats he put on with the usual ceremonies; after which he appointed Radja Pertavent, a Hedjur-Bedi-Brahman, who was citizen of the town of Sangmir, to be his prime Minister, and the director of every affair of state in his dominions.

WHILST Nizam-Ali, was putting on his Qhylaats, Rag8-nat and Madh8-Rao were going to pass the rainy season at P8nah; where dissensions soon arose between them to such a high degree, that Madh8-Rao's Ministers determined to seize Ragonat's person on the first opportunity. It was in the year 1176. But the latter receiving timely notice of this scheme, thought proper to provide for his safety: he set out from P8nah with a small number of followers, and took to the road of Nassuc. There was at that time at Aoreng-abad, a noble personage, by name Mahmed-M8rad-Qhan-Bahadyr, who had been sent thither by Nizam-Aly, to negotiate with the two parties and to pacify that nation. This nobleman hearing that Ragonat-Rao had quitted P8nah in distress, marched out of the city, and met him upon the road, very near Nassuc. This was a lucky event for the fugitive, whose mind was full of fears and anxiety; for having advanced before his people to meet M8rad-Qhan, he saluted him as a welcome friend; and the Marhatta grandees, concluding from this step of M8rad-Qhan's that Ragonat-Rao's cause was supported by Nizam-Aly, they flocked to him with their troops in such numbers, as soon to give his retinue the appearance of something like a military force. Ragonat-Rao being thus reinforced, advanced from Aoreng-abad to Ahmed-Nugur; whilst Madh8-Rao, on his side, was quitting Ponah with a body of troops, and pushing for his enemy; and having soon over-taken him, an engagement took place, in which Madh8-Rao, the nephew, was worsted by Ragonat-Rao, the uncle. The next day he came to see him, and made use of many excuses. Whilst they were conferring together, Nizam-aly, who had marched with

Dissensions in
several engage-
ments between
Modh8-Rao the
Marhatta ruler,
and his uncle
Ragonat-rao.

intention to support Rag8nat-Räo, arrived; but he found the quarrel already made up. It was at a place called Bedercañ8r, where the Marhatta Prince advanced to meet him, and where they embraced each other; after which they interchanged several entertainments. Rag8nat-Räo to acknowledge the readiness with which Nizam-aly had marched to his assistance, made him a present of several districts to the amount of fifty lacks a year, to which he added the fortrefs of Dö8let-abad. The patents of these two grants were drawn up in due form, and put in his hands. But this whole affair having been managed by M8rad-Qhan alone, it gave so much jealousy to Radja Pertavent, the Prime Minister, that he resolved to break a treaty which seemed to eclipse him: without waiting till Nizam-aly's people should have taken possession of the fortrefs, or settled collectors and governors all over the ceded districts, he turned his master's mind in such a manner, that he proposed to arrest Rag8nat-Räo, and to substitute in his stead another Marhatta Prince, called Djano-Dji, son to Rag8-dji-Bö8slah, who was then Mucafdar or hereditary collector of the province of Barar, and whom he brought to camp under promise of putting him at the head of the regency at Ponah. But whilst Nizam-aly was regulating another man's house, he experienced dissensions in his own: his own brother Mirza-Mogul deserted from his family, in order to throw himself in the arms of the Marhattas; but having soon discovered that his new friends were much more inclined to quarrel amongst themselves, than to pay any attention to either his person or interest, he took a disgust at his situation, and came back to his brother, who received him kindly.

MEAN while the first treaty having been broke in so unexpected a manner, Nizam-Aly marched with a numerous army against Rag8nat-Räo, who being unwilling to try his forces in a pitched battle, wheeled round, and commenced plundering and ravaging the country: a practice from which there is no weaning a Marhatta. With thirty thousand horses, he advanced to the very suburbs of Aoreng-abad, and asked of the inhabitants
of

of that city an immense contribution. But Mutemen-el-Mulk, governor of the province, availed himself so well of the small force and small artillery, which he had at hand; he distributed the burghers so well upon the towers and walls of the city; and made so good an use of the activity of the Himmet-Qhan-Bahadyr, Cutval of the police; that Rag8nat-Räo was kept in play with negociations and messages, until Nizam-Aly might be at hand. Nevertheless the Marhatta, who was apprised of the state of the place, resolved to storm it. On the twentieth of Shaaban, in the year 1177, his people advanced at day-break to the foot of the wall, and applied to it a number of scaling ladders, as well as some of the loftiest elephants, by which expedient they got upon the wall; and tearing some boards from about the gates, they wanted to make use of them as a bridge to get down from the towers. But Himmet-Qhan and Mirza-Bakyr-Qhan having run directly to that part, and exhorted some of the bravest citizens that had followed them, to exert themselves in defending their honor and their families; this exhortation had such a good effect, that those brave burghers some of whom were so ill armed, as to have no other arms than their own slippers, fell vigorously upon those that had got upon the wall, and overthrew them down on the other side, where they all perished; nor did another attack on an opposite part of the city succeed better: there were likewise numbers of Marhattas slain, and here likewise the citizens bravely defended their walls against the escalade. In the confusion the driver of the elephant on which Ragonat-Räo rode, having been struck by a musquet ball and an arrow, the animal turned its back; and this arrow, like a line drawn accross, parted the combatants; the attack ceased at once; and Rag8nat-Räo, having had full time to bite the finger of shame and disappointment, returned to his camp. The next day, on hearing that Nizam-aly's victorious standards were at hand, he decamped, and marched into the Buglana; this was the sixth day after Aoreng-abad had been invested; and Nizam-Aly arrived at the very time, when the Marhattas had turned towards Barar, with intention to sack that province. But Ni-

Ragonat-rao attempts to escalade Aoreng-abad, but is vigorously repulsed.

zam-

zam-aly, advancing by long marches to Balap8r, threw himself in their way, and stopped them short, as by a wall. Ragonat-Räo, sensible of this, wheeled round his rear, and giving him the slip, he marched close under the walls of Aoreng-abad, on his way to Häider-abad itself, a capital at fifteen days journey from the latter city. Nizam-aly pursued, and advanced on his pursuit as far as the shores of the Ganga of Decan. There he altered his mind; and instead of scampering after those free-booters, he thought it more advantageous to turn about, and to march straight to P8nah. Being arrived beyond Ahmed-Nugur, he informed his commanders as well as his army of his intention; and he declared that he meant no less than to pay those free-booters in kind, by burning their habitations and sacking their country. He was as good as his word; and putting his design into execution every where, he advanced within ten cosses of P8nah, where he encamped. The inhabitants of that capital had fled with their families, either to the strong holds, or to some difficult mountainous tracts; and the city remaining empty, it was set on fire, and with all its buildings, levelled with the ground; and both that city and its territory were plundered, sacked, and ruined; nor was any thing spared. Let us admire that Providence, which by divine ways of its own, could bring about such an unexpected change: three years before, whilst Baladji and his nephew, Sada-Sy8, were alive, the Marhatta name was so much respected from the bottom of Decan up to the walls of Lahor, that no man could be found daring enough to lay his hand upon a straw belonging to a man of that nation; and behold! a short time after, P8nah itself, the capital of that formidable Marhatta empire, falls a prey to gangs of plunderers; and those buildings, that had cost lacs upon lacs, are plundered and sacked, and then given for food to a devouring fire. The date of this expedition has been conserved in the following verses, of the composition of Mir-Evlad-Mahmed-Zeca, nephew to Mir-g8lam-Aaly, the freed, that famous Poet of Belgram: and here is the chronogram of that event, in the last verse of the following quartrain:

Nizam - Aly
gives a finish-
ing blow to the
Marhatta power

“ This

“ This second Afef-Dja (55) as powerful as Solomon,
 “ Has burned and ruined the capital of those Brahmans:
 “ Hear the date from your keen-sighted Poet Zeca:
 “ The Musulman army has set on P8nah.”

WHILST Nizam-aly was facking P8nah, Ragonat Rao was before the walls of Haider-abad, exerting every nerve to make himself master of the city. But the governor, Dilir-Qhan, the Aoreng-abadian, had so well encouraged the citizens, had raised such a body of troops, made such a provision of necessaries, and disposed every thing so ably and with so much order, that all Ragonat's attacks and efforts proved abortive; and they ended only in his losing a great number of men: so that finding himself baffled here also, he fell back and retreated. The remainder of this singular campaign, is not come to my knowledge, in such a manner as as to enable me to speak of it properly. Nevertheless, although little is to be expected from my slender abilities, I hope to be able to give a proper account of it, as soon as I acquire more particulars and more certain information, on the subject: this much is only come to my knowledge, upon the affairs of Decan, that at this time, that is in the year 1195 of the Hedjira (56). Nizam-Aly-Qhan, who richly deserves the title of second Afef-Dja, enjoys now the dominion of most of the provinces left him by his father, and governs with a firmness of command that does him honor. Only there is a report that in the war which rages now between the English and Haider-Naïc, in the province of Arcat, and again between the English, and the Marhattas in the western parts of Decan; Nizam-Aly is not so neutral as he looks; and that under hand he favors the Indian cause: but this I offer only as a surmise, as the truth of it is what God only may know.

(55) Afef-Dja, is the last surname bestowed by the Emperor on Nizam-el-Mulk. His son, Nizam-aly, the only one of his numerous offspring that resembled his father in abilities, was himself surnamed Afef-Dja-Sani, or Afef-Dja the second, the name used all along by our author, but which we have been obliged to drop, as our readers, (if ever we have any) may be all English: a nation that knows that Prince only by his name of Nizam-aly. This expression of Afef-Djah, is that which the French, in their relations of the incursion of the Marhattas in the Carnatic in 1742, have been endeavoring to spell by the words Azeza and Aze-zia, &c. &c.

(56) 1780 of the Christian Æra.

My memoirs are much more certain with respect to the affairs of Hindostan, and the capital of the Empire. S8r8dj-Mull the Prince, Djat, was unwilling to submit to Nedjib-eddo8lah, whom the Abdali king had appointed guardian of the young Prince Djuvan-Baqht, as well as Rêgent of the empire, until Shah-aalem himself should be arrived from Azim-abad; sensible of the weakness of the Empire, he resolved to benefit by it at any rate, notwithstanding the dreadful chastisement that had been inflicted under his very eyes upon the Marhattas; and he opened a negociation for that purpose with the governor of the castle of Acber-abad; without reflecting on the consequence of his action, he engaged him under promise of a large sum of money, to deliver that citadel to him. And thus a Hindoo and a Djat became the master of one of the two capitals of Hindostan, that is of a mighty city where the Babrian Emperors had been these many ages hoarding up their treasures, stores, and precious fortune.

END OF THE SIXTEENTH SECTION OF THE SËIR MUTAQHERIN, BE-
ING THE SECOND SECTION OF THE THIRD VOLUME.



A TRANS.

A TRANSLATION
OF THE
SĒIR MUTAQHERIN,

O R
VIEW OF MODERN TIMES, &c.

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Notice of five Cashmirian Poets and Litterati, who are ordered by him to compile from records an history of Cashmir.
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Some account of Shab-aalem's court.

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Shab-aalem resolves to repair to the capital of India—opposed by the English and by his ministers, parts willingly with his present well-being—Seizes by the way on a rich succession—is supported by the Marbattas—arrives in his capital—is vigorously supported by a new man, his general, Mirza Nedjef-Qhan—who is himself in great danger from Court intrigues—he regains the emperor's favor—who resolves to dispossess the Robilas of their conquests.

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Heroical behaviour of one Mir-Babadyr-aaly—Moqhtar-ed-dö8lab, minister of state.

Arrival of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Frances, from Europe—Djan Brishtoo (John Bristow) appointed resident at Lucknow, instead of Middleton.

Senseless conduct of Afef-ed-dö8la, who disbands his father's disciplined troops, and discards his best servants—the principal military officers think of providing for themselves—Bessent-Qhan, an eunuch, one of them, offers to murder the prime minister—murders him—and is dispatched himself.

Saadet-ally, brother to Afef-ed-dö8la, being deeply involved in a complot, makes his escape, himself the sixth—is handsomely received by Nedjef-Qhan—the English concerned in kidnapping another commander—Mahb8b-ally-Qhan served in the same manner, as is Letafet-ally-Qhan.

The author quits his subject to give an historical account of himself, family, connections, &c.—the author resumes his narrative of public events.

Iredj-Qhan, prime minister at Lucknow.—A worthless slave-boy, one of the vilest kind, made a generalissimo.

The prime minister dies—is succeeded by Hassen-Reza-Qhan, a man who loves his pleasure above all things.

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A TRANSLATION
OF THE
SËIR MUTAQHERIN,
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VIEW OF MODERN TIMES, &c.

SECTION III.—VOLUME III.

THE SYKS, those people whom we have represented as nearly destroyed under Feroḥ-Syur, and who in the sequel had availed themselves of Mir-Manḡ's neglect, and of the extortionary administration of his officers, to associate with their Sect a great number of farmers, commenced now to raise their heads. Grown exceedingly numerous, and sensible of the weakness of the present government,—as well as little intimidated by the name of the Abdali king, whom they knew to be very far off,—they assembled in battle-array, and, falling upon the Abdali governor left at Lahor, they killed him, took possession of the city; and, not yet satisfied, they proclaimed a certain Chinta, a man from among themselves, Emperor; they made him sit upon a throne, struck money in his name, overran the whole province of Lahor, took possession of it, and made it a point to torment the Musselmen by every means in their power. Intelligence

Ravages of the
Syks, who pro-
claim an Emper-
or of their own.

gence of this revolution having been transmitted to Candahar, the Abdali King resolved to make another expedition into Hindostan; and this was his seventh and last: it took place in the year 1175. But as the territory of Lahor was known to be the spot where the Abdalies first of all landed in their expeditions towards Hindostan, the Syks thought proper to evacuate it entirely; and repairing to the country of Rohy, a district of very difficult access, they took possession of a very strong fort in it, and assembled there from all parts, to the number of two lacs of men, cavalry and infantry. But this did not deter the Abdali King; informed of their retreat, as well as of their numbers, he measured ninety cosses of ground in two days (1); and falling upon those free-booters the moment he was least expected, he drew smok from their breasts. About twenty thousand of them became food to his famished and thirsty sabre; but the booty was immense, and beyond all computation. After this victory, seeing no enemy in the field, he put every thing to fire and sword in that country, which had associated with those miscreants; and marching back, he planted his victorious standards in the territory of Lahor, where he employed his time in quieting and regulating that country. Mean while he dispatched an Abdali, called Noor-eddin-Qhan, a near relation of his Vizir, towards Cashmir, with orders to bring the Sycks of that country into order and submission. That country was then in the hands of Djiven the Syk. This man, born at Cab8l, of a Catri tribe, had been a writer and an accountant in some office under Shah-Veli-Qhan, Vizir to the Abdali king, who sent him sometime after to enforce a payment due by Mir-Mann8, governor of Lahor; it was in the year 1167. But Abdollah-Qhan having been ordered to repair to Cashmir to take possession of that country, which still acknowledged the authority of Alemghir the Second, Emperor of Hindostan, that general who succeeded in this expedition, dismissed the Indian governor, and appointed in his stead, Qhodja-C8tchec; giving at the same time the management of the revenue to the Syk Djiven who thereby became Divan or Intendant of the province.—

But are defeated
in a bloody battle
by the D8rranies
or Abadalies.

(1) About two hundred and twenty common miles of a thousand paces each.

After

After these regulations, he left the new governor a body of Afghans, and returned to his master. But hardly was he departed when troubles arose in Cashmir; in which Djiven the Syk having been deeply concerned, he commenced by killing the commander of the Afghan troops, after which he confined, and then banished from Cashmir, Qhodja Cotchec himself; at the same time he applied to the Vizir of Hindostan, Umad-el-Mulk, requesting to have the patents of the government of Cashmir in his own name; and these being granted without difficulty, the new governor re-established every where the Hindostany government; ordered money to be coined, and the Qh8tbah to be pronounced, in the name of Alemghir the Second. After this he took possession of the revenue office, sent his collectors every where, confiscated all the lands possessed in Djaghir by the grandees of the court, and bore an absolute sway in the country.

SUCH a revolution could not have been brought about, but by a man of abilities; he was besides a well-looking handsome man, naturally good, and of an obliging disposition; and although a Syk, he seemed in his belief and practice much inclined to Masulmanism; for he used to set apart a sum of money for repairing the monuments of the saints of Cashmir, and for putting in order the gardens and seats that surrounded them, and served for public walks. He made it a practice every day to give dressed victuals to two hundred musulmen; and twice in the month he sent qhoans or tables covered with a variety of dishes to a number of persons abroad: naturally beneficent, he gave to every suitor that applied, but always according to his station or necessities. Every week he had a day set apart for hearing and entertaining the Poets of Cashmir.— Amongst these he set apart five of the most learned ones to write the history of that country, from the first period in which it received inhabitants down to his time (2). But their business was only to abridge memoirs. To

Valuable character of Djiven.

Who proves a beneficent Prince and a man of letters.

(2) There is an history of Cashmir extant, written by a Cashmirian, but different from these five learned men, which reaches four thousand years back.

Notice of the
five Cashmirian
poets who are
employed by him
to compile a his-
tory of Cashmir.

these five principal Historians, he added ten men of inferior learning, whose business was to assist the others in composing memoirs, examining records, and transcribing vouchers. Nor is it improper to mention here the names of these five select men: the first was Mahmed-Tö8fic, the liberated, whose vulgar name in the Cashmerian language was Lala-Dji: he had no equal in his time at Cashmir, and I remember this distich of his:

“ Let the shaft come out with which thou hast transfixed my afflicted breast,

“ Let it emerge like one that comes out of a house that has freshly taken mourning.

The second was Mahammed-aly-Qhan, author of a book entitled Biography of the Poets.—he was son to a nobleman of Iran, called Hessam-ed-din-Qhan, and was then domiciled at Cashmir, and one of the Imperial Mansobdars of an inferior order (3): the third was Mirza-Calender-Metin-Teqhallufs; he called himself some times by the name of Calender and some times by the name of Canber (4); and his works are said to have amounted to one lack of verses. The fourth, was Mohammed-aly, vulgarly called Panna. There is a fifth, whose name I do not recollect at present.

To return to our history—The Abdaly king having set a part a body of Abdalies, and two other bodies composed of Ailats of Qhorassan and of Cuzzel-bashes of Herat, gave them to Nooreddin-Qhan, with orders to bring the Cashmir to a submission; and he directed the Radja of Djamb8 to assist the expedition with a body of his troops, who might serve as guides to the others. This Radja had made it a practice, whenever any army passed through his territory, to quit the plains, and to retire to a mountainous difficult coun-

(3) The Mansobdars are military Officers, reputed to command from a hundred to twelve thousand horses; and they are distinguished from each other by the particular number turned into an adjective: for instance, Ahmed-Qhan-Bahadyr do-bezari, that is, the Valiant Lord Ahmed the two thousandth. In general they command a lesser number of men than their grade points out; but there are instances of an equality, and even of the very reverse; and there are some other instances, where the dignitary is allowed two horses to a man; and in that case Ahmed the two thousandth has the further adjective, two-horsed, added to his title. All these are paid in lands, very few in money.

(4) Canber, is the name of Aly's Dog; and although the Persians in their jealousy of the English, affect to turn them in ridicule, and to render them odious by trumping up several extravagant tales about English and about Dogs: (tales, where they equally betray their ignorance of the English, as well as their aversion to dogs;) nevertheless, Canber is another species of being: they allow him a place in paradise, and are proud of bearing his name; but it is only the Shiabs Naffities, that is, those that attribute divinity to Ali, that carry matters so far.

try,

try, where he eluded every pursuit, some times indeed submitting to send a present in money; and as it was impossible to penetrate into Cashmir without Cashmirians or other guides; and the Syk Djiven had shut up the passage, and placed Cashmirian troops to guard them (5); it became impracticable even to approach that country, without the assistance of people accustomed to those mountains. It was with reason, therefore, that the Abdali-king made an application to the Radja of Jamb8 for his assistance, and he desired to see him at his court: this request had been made by the channel of Shah-Veli-Qhan the Abdali's Vizir, and the Radja's particular friend; but the Gentoo Prince would not listen to the proposal. At last the Vizir having sent him his own son to be kept in hostage, until he should return safe into his own country, the Radja became easy in his mind, and he gave the information wanted, and added a body of his own troops to serve as guides, throughout those mountainous tracts. The only passage from the Radja's country into Cashmir is by crossing the Chennav, a river that rushes betwixt two abrupt cliffy shores with so much rapidity and such depth of water that neither man nor animal can pretend to abide it's fury. Across this rapid river the Vizir Shah-veli Qhan, by the Radjah's advice, ordered a number of tall-trees to be stretched from cliff to cliff, to serve as a bridge, whereon the army might pass; and the whole passed accordingly; after which the Radja with his troops retired to his own country. There remained a narrow mountainous passage in which the Syk Djiven had thrown his best troops; and these having been driven away at last after many actions and much bloodshed, the passage was cleared. Noor-eddin-Qhan having pursued the run-aways, made a massacre of them; and without allowing them time to take breath, he arrived with them at the city of Cashmir. Here he was opposed by Djiven himself at the head of what force he could collect; but after a slight action, the citizens fled, he fled with them, and in his flight, he was taken prisoner, with the principal men of the country. The king informed of this success of Noor-eddin-Qhan, appointed him Deputy-

(5) Cashmir is a very strong country, and of difficult access.

governor of the whole province; and in the year 1177 he resolved to return to Candahar: quitting therefore the neighbourhood of Lahor, he marched to Cab8l; and this is the last time he came into Hindoſtan, the preſent being his ſeventh expedition into that country; for the troubles that had ariſen in his abſence in Qhoraffan, proved ſo very ſerious, that he found no time to deſtroy the Syks and to eſtabliſh his government in Lahor and M8ltan upon a ſure footing; ſo that theſe two provinces, as well as the Tatta, being nearly abandoned, and without a military force, they were invaded again by the Syks who returned and eſtabliſhed themſelves firmly in thoſe tracts. Not but that Prince, as well is his ſon and ſucceſſor (Timur-Shah), uſed ſometimes to ſend bodies of horſes into thoſe countries; but it was rather with a view to procure plunder and to raiſe contributions, than for any ſolid purpoſe; and in fact we ſee, that to this day, which is in the year 1195, thoſe countries have remained unſubdued by the Abdalies; nor is their authority acknowledged there. On the contrary the Syks, become more numerous and more powerful than ever, have eſtabliſhed their collectors in every diſtrict of thoſe three provinces; and they ſeem to make no account of any enemies whatever. But then they are no more thoſe Barbarians we have heard of: ſenſible of the advantages of good government, they have put themſelves upon the footing of uſing the huſbandman and farmer with the utmoſt regard and tenderneſs; ſo that thoſe countries are now in the higheſt degree of culture and population. Nevertheleſs the mighty city of Lahor has ceaſed to be what it was: it has loſt its populouſneſs and its beauty. Thoſe crouds of nobility and gentry, with all thoſe learned men that (6) adorned it, have forſaken its walls, and have preferred exile and diſtreſs to the dominion of ſtrangers; whiſt thoſe that have bowed to the times, and ſubmitted to that humiliation, and to its concomitants, want of employment and want of ſubſiſtence, live lurking in the ruins of their tottering habitations. It appears now, (and I am writing in the year 1195) that the forces of that flaming ſword of the ſtate, the Valiant Mirza-Ned-

(6) Lahor has been one of the Muſulman univerſities of Hindoſtan; and its title in the imperial Diplomas and registers is *Dar-el-Ilm*, the habitation of ſcience.

jef-Qhan (7), Prince of Princes have penetrated into those countries, and engaged the Syks in many actions, and made them feel his consequence. However it is time alone that can determine how these new broils are likely to end. But as we have already said so much of this new power, as well as of the new sovereignty set up by Nedjef-Qhan in the northern parts of Hindostan, we think it incumbent upon us to introduce to our reader some account of the Marhattas, those southern conquerors who now fill so vast a circumference in that region, as well as in Decan.

It appears from the earliest histories that the monarchs of Hindostan have always commanded to the princes of Decan; and that their armies have more than once penetrated as far as Lanca and Serendib (8); so that their

(7) These words answer to the Persian words Zulficar-eddo8lah, Mirza Nedjef Khan-Bahadyr, Emir-ul-umrah.

(8) It may be suspected that *Lanca* is no other than the famous temple of *Ramisseram*, at the head of the shoals and islands that lead upon a depth of only five feet from the Continent to the Island of Ceylon, nay, to be that broken tongue of the Continent itself, called by the natives *The first man's bridge*. Seren-dib, is the Arabic manner of pronouncing Selen-div, the Island of Ceylon. *Lanca* may signify a bridge in Hindostany, from the word *Lang-na*, to go or straddle over. But it would not be impossible, (nay it appears to be so in ancient geographical records,) that *Lanca*, known to be the name of the most meridional parts of India, should have extended some degrees beyond the Line, whereas it falls now some degrees short of it, and ends north of it. For it appears that *Lanca* must have been some great Island whose fragments have formed the Maldivas and Laquedivas: Archipelagoes, of which neither Strabo nor Ptolemy say a single word, doubtless because they did not exist in their time, which Archipelagoes having no spinal bone, as all Islands have, that is, no chain of high grounds traversing them from end to end, and it being only flat sand hardly two feet above the level of the sea, they seem evidently to have been formed by alluvion: for the southern Indian coasts being eternally beaten by an ocean which the Etesian winds endlessly pour against them, must have at some period or other experienced very great changes: nay we shall suspect that *Lanca* must have been Ceylon itself; and when we shall attend to this, that Ceylon which has not to day two hundred and fifty leagues in circuit, had no less than four hundred in Marco-Polo's time, who navigated thither, and says positively that the ancient Chinese Charts, then in his hands, gave it twelve hundred leagues, (an extent that must have carried it some degrees beyond the line) we shall no more be at a loss to find the Island of Tabo or Tapo-bonn, the Taprobana of the ancients: words which, we are told, signify in Sanscrit, the ancient language of India, *The Wilderness or forest of Prayers*; an appellation which would besit Ceylon even to day, were it because of the appearance of the interior parts of the country, and because of that concourse of Pilgrims that resort thither by thousands and ten thousands from all parts of India, to visit the impression of the foot of the first man, which the Indians affirm to have been created there: an assertion in which they do not seem to be much out of the way: for unless it is supposed that the first men came out of the ground with each of them a loaf in their mouths, it follows of all necessity that they must have been created in a country where their wants might have been fewer, and their conveniences more at hand; and of course in a country that did not require cloths, and abounded with spontaneous roots, and farinaceous plants, as is Ceylon and all the Torrid-zone. This surmise brings naturally to mind the conclusion, that the first men must have been black; and that the Phenicians and Egyptians, people very swarthy and with frizled hair, were very much in the right, when on their first landing upon the then savage coasts of Europe, or *Europa*, they designed the few straggling savages they perceived, by the words: *Ur-Apa* white men. The reader will forgive this remark: it is pedantic, but not distant from the subject.

government was absolute in those distant parts. It is only since the reign of Mahmed-Shah, whose ministers were extremely inattentive, and whose government was very indolent, that the Marhattas finding the field open and undisputed, have spread themselves all over Hindostan, on whose inhabitants they have brought an infinity of evils; so that few countries have remained free from their pillage; and one of these is the A8d, which was indeed defended by its situation on the other side of the Ganga, and by the vigorous exertions of Sadet-Qhan and his posterity. Bengal on the other hand as well as Azim-abad, owe their safety to Aly-verdy-Qhan's firmness and intrepid courage; and Lahor, Multan, and Tatta, to their great distance from the central parts of the Marhatta dominions. Not that their armies and their ravages have not more than once reached to those parts; nevertheless their government has never been fully acknowledged or established in any. But as we have in several parts of these sheets often mentioned these southern conquerors, it is proper to satisfy the curiosity of the reader by some account of the origin of their nation, as well as by some notion of the disputes and dissensions with which it is now distracted.

A curious historical account of the Marhatta nation from its origin.

THIS nation arose originally in the D88-gur, a country on the western back of Bengal, and whose inhabitants to this day are called Marhattas, and speak that language. It was at first a particular tribe governed by the family of Bhosfelah, which has since lost the sovereignty of it on being supplanted by that of Baladji-räo; and here is what we know of certain on that subject. The Bhosfelahs are descended from the Radjas or kings of 8däypoor, an ancient race of Princes, extremely honoured and respected amongst all the Radjp8t tribes; and which although greatly fallen from its ancient grandeur, and much less powerful than the families of Rhator and Retchöaha, still holds a pre-eminence amongst these illustrious houses; insomuch that not one of those Princes thinks himself lawfully seated upon the throne, until he has received the Cashcaw from the Prince of 8däyp8r; which Cashcaw the receiver considers as a full investi-

vestiture (9); and having rubbed it upon his forehead, from that moment only reckons himself a lawful Prince, and assumes the title of Radja. The 8deypoor Radja's particular style and title is that of Rana; and the general report is that his family is related to An8b-Shirvan the just, Emperor of Iran (10). Some historians have wrote that after the conquest of Iran by Saad and Caafs (11), the posterity of that Monarch dispersed; and that one of the Princes of that family coming to India, had risen in time to the dignity and station of Radja (12); after which his descendants styled themselves Ranaes; but as our duty is to admit only what has been ascertained by historians of undoubted credit, accordingly, this story proves to be groundless, and this pretended relation to An8b-shirvan is found to lean on the following historical fact: It appears, then, that Prince Partab-chund having set up pretensions to the crown, and become prevalent, had set aside the children of Ram-dë8, taken possession of the throne, and thought himself powerful enough to assert his own independence, and to refuse to send the usual tribute which the sovereigns of India used to pay to the Emperors of Iran. An8b-Shirvan hearing of this, sent an army in India with orders

Singular pretensions of their ancient Princes.

(9) The Calhcaw is sent upon a small polished marble or stone of the bigness of a plate or even a tea-saucer, and it consists of some sandal-wood and some lime, or turmeric, or Indian safron: all which is pounded to dust, and reduced into a paste by a mixture of some water: These ingredients must have first touched the sender's right toe, and they then are welcomed by the receiver with a deal of joy and respect; after which he dips his finger and draws with those ingredients, or with any of them, one or several lines upon his forehead from the root of the hair, down to the tip of the nose.

(10) This An8b-Shirvan reigned at the beginning of the seventh Christian century; and it is under his reign that Mohammed was born. His dominions did not extend to Mecca, so sterile a country being not worth his while; but his Empire extended much beyond it, that is, in Yaman, or Arabia Felix, and from all over Persia, to all Eusbeg-Tartary, and to all Hindostan: and it appears that so early as four thousand years ago, India acknowledged a subjection to the Emperors of Persia of the first race; and it should seem also from what the Jewish colony of Cochinchina says, that Baht-Ennuffar's (or Nebuchadnezzar's) Empire extended to Cape Comorin. Those that are learned in the Sanscrit language will have it one day in their power to ascertain how far the Religion of India and Persia resembled each other. For our part, we perceive a constant vassallage, a constant intercourse, much conformity in language, and a greater one in manners and customs and usages; and this similarity goes so far, that we find the Persian Legislator or philosopher Zer-Ateusht, conversed familiarly with Chungruc-Acha, or Pil-Pai, the Indian philosopher, without a linguist.

(11) Saad was the name of that General of Omar's who conquered Persia.

(12) The similarity of religion must have been great, indeed, for a Persian foreigner to become at once and be acknowledged as Radja over an Indian tribe. To day a Persian conqueror may come and reign as Lord over an Indian tribe; but the whole nation, to the very last man, could readily suffer death rather than have any communion with him as Radja.

to

to bring the refractory Prince to his court, bound hand and foot. Partab-chund become now sensible of his error, humbled himself before the Iranian general, kissed the ground in his presence, and atoned for his rebellion by assembling his richest jewels with an immense sum of money, which he sent with his daughter to the Cosro (13) of Iran: accompanying the Princess with an humble message, where he supplicated that monarch's forgiveness. An8b-Shirvan accepted the present, and confirmed him in the possession of the crown; and it remained a number of ages in Partab-chund's descendants, who stiled themselves Ranaes; but those descendants losing by degrees their wonted energy, were in process of time stripped of the greatest part of their dominions by the subordinate Princes, who left them only a small principality; nevertheless without ever ceasing to pay the highest honor and respect to those descendants, whom they reputed to be the representatives and deputies of the Cosroes of Iran; and as Partab-chund, the chief of the family, had married his daughter to An8b-Shirvan, it is from thence that the Indian Prince's posterity claimed a parentage with a relationship to that Cosro; but this relationship has no other foundation than that of Partab-chund's sending his daughter to that Prince; for although the Gentoo Princess entered the Imperial sanctuary of Iran, and was enlisted amongst the angels of that sacred paradisaical place, nevertheless as the evidence expected from her person did not make its appearance, she was neglected; nor does it appear that An8b-shirvan ever had any other known child but Hormoz, whose mother was certainly a lady of one of the first houses in Iran.

AFTER a digression that seemed necessary, we will now return to our history of the Marhatta nation. One of the descendants of the Ranna, happened to be born from a carpenter's daughter; and as the Gentoos, to a

(13) It appears that all the Roman Emperors were called Kaisars and Kaiser-Shahs all over the East, that is Cæsars; and the Iranian Emperors, Cosroes; as are the Turkish Emperors called, Qhancars; and these appellations were and are admitted by the respective Emperors and Nations: but there are two more titles famous all over the East, of which however the pretended owners know nothing, and these are Moghul, for the Emperors of Hindostan, and Faghf8r, for those of China. The last word being the more unlucky, as the Chinese language affords no R in its letters. And the word Faghf8r is used to signify porcelain.

man, make no account of such children as are born out of wedlock, or from women other than those of their own tribe, this descendant, who found himself held in an inferior light by his relations and by his own tribe, quitted 8dëypoor in disgust, and turning his steps towards the south and in particular towards the Carnatick, he settled in that country, where, on account of his high extraction, he married amongst the princes of that region. From this marriage sprung two sons and two families, the one called that of Antöuliah; the second, that of Bhöufelah. Saho-Dji, whom history mentions to have been an officer of merit in the service of Burhan-eddin-Nizam-Shah, king of Häiderabad, descended in a direct line from that Bhöufelah. He afterwards quitted that prince, and took service with Hibrahim-adel-Shah, king of Bidjap8r, who being extremely satisfied with his services, gave him the Pergannah or district of P8nah in appanage. Sahodji, now turned farmer and zemindar, or landholder, cultivated that spot with all his might, but under a certain quit rent, and in the form of a zemindary; so that he passed his life upon that estate: but this was only for a short time. His active mind did not brook inaction, and he quitted his free hold to take service with the fortunate conqueror, Shah-Djehan, that second lord of conjunction (14). After a very active life, he was succeeded in his estate by his son Seva-Dji, who seemed likewise to inherit all his father's character. It was at the time when Hibrahim-Adel-Shah having fallen into a lingering disease that carried him to his grave, after suffering during two years, he had so far neglected the administration, that great troubles had arisen in his dominions; the troops disbanded and came to Bidjap8r, and the country of Cöucan or Concan, amongst others, lost all its garrisons at once, and was left to itself. The advantage that could be made of such a state of things could not escape a man like Seva. This founder of the family of Bhöufelah was a sensible shrewd man, remarkable for his bodily strength and for much personal prowess, as well as for much capacity: availing himself of the confusion and inactivity of the times, he put himself at the head of a number of people which his

Seva-Dji, his son, assumes independence.

(14) The conjunction of the Planets of Jupiter and Mars.

character kept together, and by them he was enabled to take possession of several forts and fortresses, that proved empty of troops, or unguarded. Mean while Hibrahim-Adel-Shah's life drawing to an end, his son, Aly-Adel-Shah, mounted his throne; and as his administration, both on account of his character and also of his youth, wanted energy, the troubles in his dominions went on increasing; and Seva, becoming daily more powerful and enterprising, found means to bring under his power all the strong holds of the Cöucan or Concan, one after another; and these together with those he built himself, amounted to full forty fortresses, replenished with every store convenient for their defence. He was likewise in possession of several difficult tracts that might have been defended like so many fortresses: a situation that put it in his power to assume a complete independence, and to bid defiance to his master Aaly-Aadel-Shah, whose principal minister and general, Afzyl-Qhan, he found means to surprise and kill; after which he plundered his camp, and stripped his soldiers; nor did Rostem-Qhan, another general of that Prince's, fare better than his predecessor: he too was shamefully defeated. After this victory Seva ceased to pay any regard to the Adel-Shahians; and he commenced making courses and ravaging the country; and as the Cöucan, of which he was now the undisputed master, borders upon the bitter waters(15), he became possessed of several harbours, and commenced driving at sea the trade which highwaymen exercise at land, way-laying merchants, and plundering their property. Become bolder by continual successes, he attacked the neighbouring countries of Aorengzib's jurisdiction, and committed spoil as often as he found an opportunity. The Monarch being informed of his excesses, ordered Shahistah-Qhan, Viceroy of Decan, to chastise that freebooter; and Radja Djefvent-Rhator received orders likewise to join that general. The two generals entered the Cöucan, and burned it from end to end, but not without much difficulty and bloodshed. Seva, or Seva-dji, who had many friends and

(15) Deria-Shor are the Persian words used in India to signify the Ocean, or Sea. But the Indians have the word Samahender for that element.

relations in Shahista-Qhan's army, engaged them to rise in a certain night (16), in which the general was to marry his son: the scheme was to fall suddenly upon that general, and to kill him; and although it did not succeed fully to his wishes, it put it in his power to surprise that general in his camp, and to give him a shameful defeat: this happened in the year 1073. The Emperor informed of this event, severely reproached the general for his neglect, dismissed him from his government, and appointed in his stead his own son, the Imperial Prince Soltan Muäzzem; and as he was no better satisfied with Radja Djefvent's activity in this war, he sent for him to court, and appointed in his stead Radja-Djehi-sing: this Prince proving quite another man, chastized Sevadji severely, as often as he could come up with him; so that the latter finding that all was going to wreck, thought proper to submit: he came unarmed, and having entered into a treaty with the Gentoo prince, he agreed to surrender and evacuate twenty-three fortresses which were pointed out to him, and to pay a present of ten lacs of Hoons (17): this treaty having been agreed to by the Emperor, an Imperial edict issued from the chancellery, forgiving his past misdemeanours, and creating his son Simba, a Monsohar of five thousand horses. Sevadji, satisfied with this grade, resolved to kiss the Imperial threshold; and going to Agra with his son, he inclined himself profoundly before the Monarch, by whom he was received with particular regard. But the man, born far from the capital and in the middle of the mountains of Decan, had too much Decanism in himself yet, and too little acquaintance with the courts of Emperors, to set a proper value upon the reception he had received: he thought it far below what he was entitled to, and complained of it to Radja-Djehi-Sing's son, as of a want of attention and regard. This complaint was very ill taken: he was forbidden the court, and guards were set over him, but

His successors.

Is obliged to submit.

(16) All marriages in India are celebrated by torch light, as the heat of the day would render such ceremonies insupportable, and the nights are of a coolness truly admirable.

(17) This is the Indian word for that kind of Gold Coin, called Pagoda, which last is not so much as known amongst them. The Pagoda is worth from three Rupees to Three and a half and four Rupees. It is stamped on the flat side with three small figures, half lengths, very coarsely executed, and on the convex side with small dots, and it looks like a round sleeve-button.

his

his son, as not comprized in his guilt, was left at full liberty, and was received at court as usual. It was the Emperor's intention to keep Sevadji for some time in that school of respect and deference, and then to raise him to honours, on sending him back to his own country: but Seva, who knew nothing of that design, and had grown impatient of a restraint that had lasted these three months and nine days, resolved to set himself at liberty; he found ways to disguise himself, and, with his son Simbah, to give the slip to his guards. Arrived in his country, he commenced his ravages with more fury than ever, and he grew so formidable every day, that his incursions became the chief business of the governors of those frontiers. At last he died on the twenty-fourth of the second Reby, in the year 1098: and his son Simbah continued as his father had commenced, but met with his deserts. For the troubles of the country having risen to a height, the Emperor Aoreng-zib himself thought it worth his while to repair in person to those frontiers. It was the next year; and he took up his abode at the city of Aoreng-abad, where for full twenty-five years he employed himself in chastizing the Marhattas. But some of the grandees of his court, and some of the generals of his army, who for private reasons of their own wished for a continuance of the war, found it their interest to support that criminal race under hand, and to prevent its being exterminated.

Simba his son.

SIMBA had two sons, Ram-Radja and Saho-Radja. These, after Aorengzebe's demise, found means to plant on the frontiers of the Imperial dominions the shrub of partnership (18), a shrub that spread its roots from near to near, whilst those that had planted it extended their dominion upon some parts of the south of India, not comprized within the governments of Deccan: and here is some account of this matter.

At the end of Aorengzib's reign, it was determined to come to some accommodation with the Marhattas, and to grant them one Def-m8kki,

(18) The Author means their establishing a right in the fourth of the revenue: it is the chout.

or tenth, out of the product of those southern frontiers (18), in lieu of all their pretensions, under condition of their acknowledging themselves henceforward subjects of the empire, and abstaining from incursions and ravages. Ahfen-Qhan-Mir-Melenk, a nobleman of importance in those parts, had even been sent with the diploma of this treaty, and with orders to bring the Marhatta generals to pay their obeisance to the Imperial threshold.—Mir-Melenk was already departed, with the treaty in his hand, when the emperor altered his mind, and ordered that nobleman to return, without delivering the same. But in Bahadyr-Shah's reign, it was agreed that the Marhattas should have one tenth of that part of the crop, allowed the farmer; and the patents of the agreement passed the seals and were put in their hands. That prince after this treaty, and the defeat of Cam-baqhsh, his brother, quitted the Decan, and marched towards Hindostan, leaving the government of all those southern countries to Zulficar-Qhan, the prince of princes. It was in the year 1121 of the Hedjrah. This Viceroy, unwilling to remain at a distance from court, followed the Emperor, leaving, for his deputy in those countries, an illustrious Afghan of those parts, called Dä8d-Qhan-Péni; and this deputy Viceroy made it a standing rule to allow the Marhattas one quarter of the Imperial revenues of those countries, over and above the ten per cent. which they had been allowed as a Des-mucky over the husbandman's share, in consequence of the Imperial diploma, now in their hands: a partage which became a current custom and an inviolable rule all over the Decan. But yet the Marhattas had no Imperial patent for this chö8t, or fourth part of the Imperial revenues: Nor was this matter settled and registered but in Feroh-Syur's reign: for this prince who could not bear the two brothers, Sëyds, used continually to excite Saho Radja, son to Simbah, against Hussein-aaly-Qan, who had succeeded Zulficar-Qhan in the government of all the Decans; and as this nobleman was perpetually exhorted by his elder brother, Abdollah-Qhan the Vizi, to come to court, where the Emperor was perpetually involved in continual machina-

(18) These words signify the tenth handful.

tions against their lives and their families; Houssein-aly-Qhan, to be at liberty to repair to court, came to an agreement with the Marhattas, in the year 1129. This treaty was managed on one hand by Mahmed-Anvar-Qhan, the Burhanp8rian, and on the other by Sanera-dji-Malhar, the Marhatta; and the right of raising the chöut all over the six governments and a half of the Viceroyalty of Decan being entirely acknowledged in the Marhattas, the patents of it were drawn up in due form and put in their hands, under these two conditions only: that they should abstain from all incursions and ravages; and that they should constantly keep in the service of the Viceroy of Decan a body of fifteen thousand horses. This chöut or quart was admitted over and above the tenth or Des-mucky mentioned above. Thus it became a tribute acknowledged, as a balance due to the Radja Sah8 on the Cöucan, his original kingdom; and Baladji, son to Beshenat, a Brahman of this last country, having been appointed deputy general on the part of that prince to put the treaty in execution, he established in each province two collectors of his own, one of whom, under the name of Mucafdar, collected the chöut; whilst the other made his business of the Des-mucky. This treaty, by putting a stop to the periodical ravages of the Marhattas, enabled the devastated provinces of Decan to recover a little; and cultivation as well as population shewed part of their features again; but it may be said, however, of those countries, that they were from that moment severed from the Empire, and that the Imperial commands ceased to have any energy all over the Decan; for the chöut was sometimes carried so high as a third of the whole revenue.

HOSSEIN-ALI-QHAN being by this agreement left at full liberty to turn his views towards the capital of the Empire, appointed his nephew Alem-Aly-Qhan, as his deputy general all over those countries, and he marched towards Hindostan with thirty or forty thousand horses of his own, and another numerous Marhatta cavalry, under the command of Baladji-Beshvent. Arrived in the capital, Houssein-Aly-Qhan deposed Feroh-Syur, and

and raised to honors and dignities Sancra-Dji-Malhar, whom he sent back to Decan jointly with Baladji-Beshvent, where these two men worked themselves into so much influence and power, that they equalled and rivalled Alem-Aly-Qhan himself. Some time after Alem-Aly-Qhan perished in battle: the power and life of the two Sëyds of Bar were brought to an untimely end; and Baladji himself departed this world: he was succeeded in all his dignities and influence by his son Badji-räo, whom the Radja Saho appointed his chief minister, and who pushed still farther the Marhatta acquisitions: for Radja Gurd-hur-Nagur having been appointed by Mahmed-Shah to the government of Malva, in the year 1137, had all the pains in the world to maintain himself in it: he had hardly enjoyed it for two years together, when Holcar-Malhar who had been one of Baladji's principal commanders, came with an army of Marhattas, and made the new governor so uneasy in his government, that he died of vexation, leaving his government to his son, who was slain in defending the city of 8djëin against Malhar; after which the Malva was completely ravaged by the Marhatta horse. Six years after that date, Mahmed-Qhan Bangash was sent to govern that unfortunate country: he arrived at 8djëin; but the country mean while had been so much devastated and over-run by the Marhattas, that his authority did not find soil enough to take root in it. Two years after, that government was conferred on Radja-Djehi-sing, a Hindoo, who influenced by his religious and national principles, listened to whatever Badjiräo seemed to instill in his mind. Even the Province of G8djrät, which after the dismissal of Ser-b8lend-Qhan had been conferred on Radja Abhi-sing Rhator, fared no better, and was soon over-run and subdued by the Marhatta cavalry, excited and supported under hand by Hamed-Qhan, a relation of Nizam-el-Mulk; so that Badjiräo finding by the ease with which both the Malva and the G8djrät had been over-run and conquered, that the Empire itself was impotent, and its ministers slothful and incapable, he advanced fearlessly farther and farther. It is true that Muzaffer-Qhan, brother to the minister Qhan-dö8ran, was sent to oppose him; and

and he seemed inclined to engage the Marhatta; but the latter not thinking a battle advantageous for themselves at this time, returned to Decan; and Muzaffer-Qhan, who had advanced as far as Seroudj, but found no enemy in the field, and nothing but a ruined country before him, returned to the capital, victorious indeed if you will, but without having come to either battle or an engagement. The next year Badjiräo having returned into Hindostan, both the Vizir-Camer-eddin-Qhan, and the Prince of Princes Qhan-dö8ran came out of the city to meet him in the field. They marched by two different roads for that purpose, and had advanced thirty or forty coffes in the Malva. This manœuvre did not impose on the Marhatta, who sent Pelid-dji, surnamed the forcerer, with part of his army against the Vizir, and Holcar-Malhar with the other, against Qhan-dö8ran. Pelid dji engaged the Vizir three or four times, and was as often worsted; whilst Qhan-dö8ran, jealous of his success, commenced with Malhar a negotiation for peace; and a treaty having been soon concluded, he returned to the capital in company with the Vizir himself. But in the year 1148, Qhan-dö8ran, gained by Radja Djehi-sing-Siväi, turned the Emperor's mind in such a manner, that the government of both Malva and G8dj-rat was conferred on Badjiräo; the next year, this general returned to Malva with a numerous cavalry; and having established his government in that province, and put the collections in a proper order, he turned his arms against Radja Behdor, whom he besieged in his capital, which he took. The Radja unable to stand in the field, quitted the flat country, and retired into a mountainous tract, where he was safe; so that Badjiräo, finding that nothing further could be done with him, finished the destruction of his country, and then turned his thoughts towards becoming master of the country of Anter-bid, which we have observed to comprize all the tract of land betwixt the Ganga and the Djumna; for this purpose he sent Pelid-dji, the forcerer, with an army in that country, from whence he knew that Saadet Qhan had just crossed over towards Ecber-abad; and his orders were to attack this general in his way

way: but Pelid-dji having been encountered by the latter, who saved him one half of the journey, an engagement ensued, in which the Marhatta lost so many of his men, that he fled with all his might, re-crossed the Djumna, and was at all the pains in the world to rejoin Badjirao: moreover in crossing the river, he mistook his ford, and lost an infinity of men, who fell a prey to that insatiable alligator, the inexorable fate. It was observed of Saadet-Qhan, that he dismissed fifteen hundred prisoners, after having given each of them a blanket and two rupees. Badjirao worsted in the Anter-bid, thought of recovering his character by making a push towards the capital itself, the environs of which he plundered and ruined at his pleasure. At last the Vizir and Qhan-dö8ran came out to put an end to his ravages; and they were soon joined by Saadet-Qhan himself, and by Mahmed-Qhan-Bengash, who all advanced with an intention to engage the enemy; but the Marhatta finding no advantage likely to be got by a battle, retired by the way of Acber-abad into Malva; and we have mentioned that event at large in the former volume. All this happened about the year 1150, when Nizam-el-Mulk, Viceroy of Decan, being called to court, the government of Malva was conferred upon himself; and he advanced to take possession. Badjirao on his side resolved to dispute such a prize, and he came out of Decan with a numerous cavalry, insomuch that the two armies were on the point of meeting in the territory of Bopal; when news coming at this time that Nadyr-Shah was rapidly advancing towards the capital of Hindostan, Nizam-el-Mulk, who thought a victory on Badjirao but a small object, compared to an event of such magnitude as Nadyr-Shah's arrival, returned thither expeditiously.

WHILE Nizam-el-Mulk was engrossed by his expedition against Badjirao, Rago-dji-Bhoselah, Mucasdär of the Province of Barar, and a son of Radja Saho's uncle, having had some difference with Shudjah-Qhan the Ilah-abadian, Deputy governor in that Province on the part of Nizam-el-Mulk, fell upon him, gave a defeat to his troops, and killed him in bat-

tle; and as Nadyr-Shah's expedition into Hindostan had given such a wound to the vitals of that Empire, that it could never recover from it, Badjirão, emboldened by such a state of things, took possession of all the djaghirs and apanages which an infinity of Monfobdars held in Decan, either from the Emperor himself or from Nizam-el-Mulk; and thus stood the state of things during the remainder of that viceroy's life; but Nassyr-Djung, his son and successor, having thought proper, after Nadyr-Shah's departure, to send a message to Badjirão, with a remonstrance on that subject, the remonstrance had its effect; all those Djaghiry Lands were released, and they returned to their owners. But this condescension did not prevent the Marhatta from assembling in the year 1152, an army of fifty thousand horses, with which he surrounded Nassyr-Djung in Aorengabad, with an intention to make an end of him; and he encamped for that purpose on the south side of that city, but close to its walls. Nassyr-Djung, who had no more than ten thousand horses, disdained to be shut up within walls, and coming out, he left Badjirão and his army behind, wheeled round his rear, and pushed forward, resolved to plunder P8nah, which he conjectured to be totally unattended to. Badjirão threw himself in his way, but he beat him over and over, until he crossed the Ganga of Decan (19), from whence he ravaged the whole country. This conduct having convinced Badjirão that nothing was to be done with people that had adopted his own system of warfare, he sent a message to Nassyr-Djung, requesting the honour of a conference with him; which request being agreed to, he was received with the highest marks of distinction, and had the districts of Carcon and Hindaia bestowed on him as a djaghir. Badjirão satisfied with having concluded a peace, so much to his own advantage, marched on to Malva; and he was already arrived at the Nerbedda, when he fell sick, and departed this life. It was in the year 1153. His son Badjirão succeeded him in all his dignities and offices. In this year, likewise,

(19) Alias the Godavery.

Nizam-el-Mulk, having been dismissed by the Emperor to his own government of Decan, he set out for that country, and on his arrival at Burhanpoor, Baladjiräo, who was then on his march for Malva, came and paid him a respectful visit. Nizam-el-Mulk, after his arrival at Aoreng-abad, had several opportunities of observing the restless temper of the Marhattas, who moved several times during the eight years he lived there, but were chastized and beaten as often, and as often was a peace concluded. A peace was likewise concluded between Nassyr-Djung, his successor, and Saho-radja; and it was observed on both sides; and although the former perished by a conspiracy in the Carnatic, and the latter died in the year 1163, yet Baladjiräo observed the same, and was succeeded by Seda-Sy8, fir-named Bahö8, and brother to Baladjiräo's uncle, who became the sole disposer of all the affairs of the Mahratta empire: and it was in his time that a mighty change took place in the government of that monarchy.

Mighty changes in that Monarchy where the name of Monarch remains in one family, whilst the power passes to another.

So late as the reign of Sah8-Radja, the throne remained in the possession of the family of Bhosselah; but after his demise, matters took a different turn; and it was observed, that the regent, so far from putting a prince of that family at the head of affairs, kept the government in his own hands; and under the modest title of "Precursor", he in fact remained the absolute master and sole disposer of the administration, civil and military; neglecting, and even setting aside entirely every one of those who had previously been in power. We have already mentioned what influence and authority that new family had acquired, both in Decan and Hindostan, after the demise of Radja Saho; nor can that account, no more than this compendium, appear the least doubtful; for it is extracted from the historical works of the illustrious poet Mir-gh8lam-aly, the Belgramite; who having spent his life in the court of Decan, where his influence rendered him a man of importance, had access to all records, knew minutely every transaction of Decan relative to those countries, and was perfectly acquainted with the general history of the Marhatta empire, as also with the particular origin
and

Insatiable am-
bition of the Mar-
hattas.

Their singular
penurious way of
life.

and rise of the family of Radja Saho, as well as of the Brahmanical family of Cöucan. The digression, therefore, into which we have launched, was with a view to oblige and inform the lovers of history: nor will it prove foreign to our work to say, that both these two Marhatta families seem to aim at no less than the depriving all mankind of subsistence, in order to draw it to themselves. They leave neither zemindary or patvary (20), nor any subordinate authority, nor any hereditary command, any where in their dominions, or wherever they can extend their power; making it a point to tear up by the roots all such people as have any personal authority; suffering no other power to exist than their own, and seeming to be intent on becoming masters of the whole surface of the earth. But how to believe that the Almighty cherisher of both the believer and unbeliever, of the Mussulman and Hindoo, would suffer this earth to be engrossed by one single race, or nation, he whose providence has appointed the several parts of it to afford endlessly a subsistence to a variety of tribes and races. If any thing can give a proper idea of the delicacy of feeling, and of the noble notions of that singular people, it is probably some authentic particulars which we know of Baladjirao's way of living: this man, who had become absolute in Hindostan as well as in Decan, was fond of bread made of Badjrah (21), and had no kind of relish for that made of wheat: he lived on raw Brindjelas (22), on unripe mangoes, and on raw red pepper, upon which delicacies he used to feed heartily. Let the reader guess the taste of the whole nation by this specimen of its chiefs. As the Brahmans are beggars by origin, and it is a standing obligation amongst them, both to ask and to receive

(20) The words Patvary, Taliſedary and Choſſiraj, signify so many inferior kinds of Zemindaries, that is Lordships: they signify also a Copy-hold Tenure.

(21) Badjra is a small minute grain of a dirty brownish green, which gives a black bitterish bread: possibly it is the Sarrazin of Europe, which we never had any opportunity of seeing there: it is about Lucknow, the food of the poorest people, who buy it at about three hundred pounds weight for less than Eighteen pence, English, Barley, which is somewhat dearer, being in town, the food of labouring people.

(22) Brindjelas, called over the East *Badindjan* and *Bangan*, are to be seen in plenty from Provence and Languedock, as far as Turkey, Persia, and all the East as far as China: It is a fruit sometimes as big as a child's head but in general oblong; it grows upon a prickly shrub, and tastes like an Artichock, boiled: it loses its bitterness when boiled in India; but it may be sweet in the mountainous parts of the Marhatta country, as it is in fact at Mecca, where we have eaten it raw several times.—Mangoes the most delicious fruit, existing, are exceeding sour, when unripe; although there are some particular trees that afford sweet Mangoes, even long before they have acquired a mellowness.

alans,

alms, the whole race has accustomed itself from generation to generation to such kinds of dainties; and beggary with its concomitants, want of taste and want of delicacy, stick close to all individuals, and is become a part of their nature; and although they have come to command kingdoms, and to rule over empires, they are still the beggars they have been. Go to any of them, from the lowest clerk to the highest man in the office, and to the minister of state, and the first words which you shall hear from them are always these: "*What have you brought for me?—have you brought any thing for me?*" and should any man go empty handed to them, they would strip him of his turban and coat, and then recommend him devoutly to God Almighty:

" I see no where but a variety of beggar's platters:

" Were a beggar to become a king, he would turn all mankind into beggars.

THE cause of this want of taste and delicacy, as well as of the little improvement which their manners and tempers seem to be susceptible of, may be traced in that coarse fare in which the rich as well as the poor seem to delight: they live chiefly upon pulse, that species particularly called T8vur(23); nor do they give it that preparation called Bagar in India, and which is done by frying it with some butter, but they throw their butter over the pulse already boiled, so that the butter being raw, does not correct it's taste; and this too is in so small a quantity, that it amounts to its not being there at all. Then their sauces and fare are stuffed with immense quantities of ginger, turmeric, and red pepper; and as to the last, they eat quantities of it, raw, whilst they are taking their meals: this way of living being transmitted from generation to generation becomes so far customary and familiar, as to give them a peculiar constitution. Hence their distempers in general happen to be of the bilious and melancholy kind; and hence the physicians of India, who adapt their remedies to the diseases, have it in practice to give them warm stimulating medicines, appropriating their prescriptions to the constitution of their patients. After having given this succinct account of a nation that cuts so great a figure in our history, I must protest,

(23) The T8vur is called Arhur, in Bengal and in Hindostan.

Their singular
temper and cus-
toms.

that I have said nothing, but what I have myself observed as a matter of fact; and that I am not influenced by either jealousy or partiality. It is a singularity amongst these people, that, whether Gent8s or Hind8s (24), they never use in their letters, diplomas, and records, any other epoch than the Mohammedan one, of the Hedjrah, writing the date in Arabic words, but in Marhatta characters.

Arrival of
Mir-Cassan
Qhan, Navvab
of Bengal, in
Shudjah-ed-
do8lah's do-
minions.

AFTER such a digression upon a nation that fills so vast a circumference in Hindostan, we are very naturally carried back to the thread of our Narrative on the affairs of that country. Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, after having taken the fort of Djanfi, and driven the Marhatta collectors from the Anterbid, tarried at Shah-abad with the Emperor Shah-alem, intending to bring the Bundelcund likewise under subjection, and to establish that prince's government in those parts likewise. But whilst he was preparing for this expedition, in the year 1177, his attention was diverted by another object, to wit, the arrival of Mir-Mahmed-Cassem-Qhan, the Aali-Djah (25), who being defeated and chased by the English, had come so far to seek an asylum in Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's dominions, and in the Emperor's court. It was at Ilahabad that this fugitive had an interview with the Viceroy; and as he soon had opportunities of observing, that his attention, engrossed by his future expedition of the Bundelcund, did not allow him to mind any thing else, he offered his service for that purpose; he had already a friend in that country, and this was Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan, whom he had dismissed with honor from the Keremnassa, but who was now in the Radja of Bundelcund's service. Partly by force and partly by the insinuations of that officer, he soon brought that affair to a conclusion that did him much honor. In acknowledgment for this service, which raised the fugitive's character, Shudjah-ed-dö8lah resolved to assist him in the recovery of his dominions, by attacking the English;

(24) There are three æras in India, amongst the Gentoos: that used in Bengal dates to-day (1786) Eleven hundred and ninety two years. There is a more sacred one which dates from the time when one of their philosophers, called Bafdeb, published more than five thousand years ago, a Commentary on their religion and sacred law.

(25) These two words of Aali-Dja, signify the high-seated, the one of eminent station, &c.

an expedition where he was himself totally vanquished and defeated by those strangers, who granted him a peace, by which they restored the province of A8d to Shudjah-ed-Dö8lah, but gave that of Ilah-abad to Shah-Alem, as we have mentioned at length in our former volume. This peace being concluded, Shudjah-ed-Dö8lah repaired to his own dominions, and Shah-Alem established his government in Ilah-abad. One of the English commanders remained in Shudjah-ed-Dö8lah's court, as an agent from his nation, and favor upon favor was heaping upon him: another English commander, but of a higher rank, such as a colonel or a general, attended in the same manner with an army on the Emperor's person at Ilah-abad, and occasionally assisted him in establishing his government in those parts. Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan, who had taken service with the English in their wars with Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, and had proved serviceable to them, was for that attachment of his complimented with a pension of one lack a year, to be deducted out of the twenty-four lacks tribute which that nation had obliged themselves to pay as an acknowledgment for their holding the Bengal. After a length of time Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan was promoted to the fodjdary and government of Corra, and ordered to clear that province of Banditties, and to establish the Emperor's government firmly. But the person who had taken possession of the Imperial mind was Munnir-ed-dö8lah, who under the modest name of steward of the Imperial house-hold, had become in fact his prime minister, dismissing whom he pleased from the service; he had become also the main channel of communication between that Prince and the English: he was likewise the person pitched upon to go on his part in embassy to Calcutta; and it was during this absence, that some men of mean capacities and vile inclinations found means to recommend themselves to that Prince. These were Hefsam-eddin-Qhan, Radja Ramnat, and Bahadyr-Aly-Qhan; three men, who being of the same turn of mind, and having the same inclinations with Shah-Alem, soon found their way to his heart; Hefsam-eddin-Qhan, especially, who having made it a point to procure pretty virgins and agreeable young women from all parts, which he

Events that
are the conse-
quences of it.

Some accounts
of Shah-Alem's
Court.

got

got instructed in the accomplishments of dancing and singing, used to present them to the Emperor, who often introduced them into the Imperial sanctuary, where some of them became favorites, and proved greatly instrumental in the seraglio in promoting their introducer's interest and in filling his purse. It was by such means as these he soon became one of the principal lords of the court, and one who acted as a minister of state: Unhappy the country where men rise to honors by such vile practices! It was at such a period as this, and in such a school, that Shudjah-eddö8lah thought proper to place Mirza-Saadet-Aly, his younger son, to represent his father in the office of Vizir: he likewise appointed some of his friends to exercise the office of Mir-Ateshy, and some other offices effected to his family; and himself now and then made a voyage to Ilah-abad to pay his respects to the Emperor. This account of Shah-Alem's court naturally brings to our recollection the affairs of the capital.

We have been mentioning that Nedjib-eddö8lah, a Rohilah Prince, promoted by the Abdali-king to the office of Prince of Princes, or of Emir-ul-Umerah, had been left as a guardian over the young Prince Djuvan-Baqht, who had been placed by a faction upon the throne with the same name and title as was borne by his father, who was then waging war in Bengal.—Nedjib-eddö8lah, under the young Prince's name, governed with absolute authority in the capital; and it must be acknowledged that for an Afghan and a Rohilah, he was not defective either in sense or in good manners; but he deserved besides such a high elevation, by his possessing all the qualifications of a general of army, being a man of conduct as well as personal prowess. His next neighbour was the Radja S8r8dj-Mul, the eye and the shining taper of the Djatt tribe; a prince who rendered himself famous by his good manners and civil deportment, as well as by his conquests, and his superior knowledge in the arts of government: qualifications in which he had not then, and never has had since, his equal amongst the Hindoo Princes. He had raised or repaired four fortresses in his dominions in such
a manner

Accounts of
S8r8dj - Mul,
the Djatt Prince,
a man of singular
abilities.

a manner (26), that no Indian power could pretend to take them by a siege; and he had stored them with such quantities of ammunition, provisions, and necessaries, that the garrison, for years together, would not have wanted any thing from abroad: so that if we were to make a description of their fortifications, or an enumeration of their means of defence, we would be found to have wrote a book, and to have involved ourselves in a complete volume. In one word, if we except a certain number of famous Fortresses in India, which are still more indebted to Nature than to Art, there was nothing in his time that could stand in comparison with those four castles of his, especially in the quantity and quality of the stores. He had in his stables twelve thousand horses, mounted by so many picked men, amongst whom he had himself introduced an exercise of firing at a mark on horse-back, and then wheeling round in order to load under shelter: and these men had by continual and daily practice become so expeditious and so dangerous marksmen, and withal so expert in their evolutions, that there were no troops in India that could pretend to face them in the field; nor was it thought possible for any Indian Prince to wage war against such a Prince with any prospect of advantage. Many a time did the Marhattas, and many a time did the Abdalies, invade his country: in such a case he never failed to retire into his Fortresses with his people, and to bid defiance to these invaders; nor did he ever pay any contributions to any of them; and it was with such a variety of military talents he had already vigorously supported his character in his many engagements with the Afghan's and the Rohilahs, when he went to Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan's assistance. He constantly beat the one and the other, and always came off victorious: insomuch that no less a man than such a vizir thought proper to apply for his succour, and always found it an effectual one. But S8r8dj-Mul was likewise very ambitious and restless; and, as his zemindary and dominions stretched in the very neighbourhood of Shah-djehan-abad, he was eternally bent on expelling his neighbours, and on taking

He disciplines
a body of caval-
ry after a me-
thod of his own.

(26) Comir and Dig, Fortresses of which wonders are reported, were two of those strong holds of his, Bellem-gur was another. The Ramparts, and of course the Ditch, of Dig were of such dimensions as would astonish an European Engineer.

He is slain.

possession of their lands. Such a conduct could not but excite perpetual disputes between Nedjib-eddö8lah and him; so that they looked with an evil eye at each other like two men inclined to come to blows together on the first occasion. It may be even said that Nedjib-eddö8lah was uneasy at his power and character, and that he concealed his inquietude thereon: for there was no General and no Prince in India that would choose to risque a war against him: an assertion proved beyond doubt by the effectual assistance which he gave in person to Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan in his wars with Mahmed-Qhan-Bangash and the Afghans; and afterwards by the superiority with which he always fought the Marhattas; rendering himself at all times respectable, not only to the Vizir Umad-el-Mulk and to Zulficar-Djung, but to the Abdalies themselves. This is so far true that Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan's successes against the Afghans are in a great measure attributed to the Djat Prince's assistance. Nevertheless as his days were counted, and his last moment was come, all these fortifications, all these excellent troops, and all this formidable character of his, availed nothing; and he was slain in an inconsiderable skirmish.

A COLONY of Bal8ches had settled themselves for some time in the districts of Fero8-Nugur, where in the reign of Mahmed-Shah an extraordinary man had appeared amongst them; this was one Camcar-Qhan, a man who had good luck enough to acquire a character, and also influence enough to obtain the fodjdarry of the Ghurd, that is of the rounds about the capital and its environs: several times he had been entrusted with the command of Pani-p8t and some other districts, where he had found means to bring to order and submission that whole territory, which was full of refractory ungovernable people: and this conduct had drawn the applause of the Minister who in general left him in possession of both his office and his conquests. One of his Officers, named Bahadyr-Qhan, who had raised his character during his master's life, had recommended himself so well to the Minister Umad-el-Mulk, as to obtain the fodjdary of Soharen-p8r, from whence he was re-called to his assistance, on the war breaking out between Ahmed-Shah the Emperor
of

of Hindostan, and his then Vezir Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan; in which expedition he assisted his protector so well, that he was thought worthy of the highest dignities, being promoted to the grade of seven thousand horses, with the insigne of the Mahi or Fish. But a peace having been concluded, and Umad-el-Mulk having come to an agreement with Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan, this Bal8ch, now a man of great character and eminent dignity, retired to a spot at twelve coffes distance from the capital, where he raised a fort and a town which he called Bahadyr-p8r, after his own name; making it his residence as well as that of his family; so that in process of time it came to be known under the name of Bahadur-gur. Mean while his master, Camcar-Qhan, dying soon after, diffentions arose between his children and his commanders; of which S8-r8dj Mull, the Djat, availed himself to fall upon the Bal8ch colony, and to make himself master of Revari and Fero8-nugur, of which he kept possession. He wanted also to render himself master of Bahadyr-gur; when the Bal8ch thinking himself an unequal match for such an aggressor, applied to Nedjib-edd8lah for assistance, and spoke vigorously on the impropriety of neglecting his protection. The remonstrance had little effect; and the Djat Prince, finding from this cautious behaviour of Nedjib-edd8lah that he was afraid of a war, became the more daring, and he requested the fodjdary of the environs of Shah-Djehan-abad called the fodjdary of the Gurd or Circuit, and that of Carvar. Nedjib-edd8lah unwilling to see matters come to a rupture, sent him a person of consequence, called Yac8b-Qhan, a brother of the Abdali-king's vizir, and who had some times commanded in Shah-Djehan-abad, as governor general: the instructions to this envoy were to endeavour, by mild words, to bring matters to a pacification, so as to smother the seeds of tumult and war. The envoy had brought with him the Radja-Dilir-sing the Catri, as his associate; and two pieces of M8ltan-chintz, of exquisite beauty (27), as a present; and these
being

(27) The Europeans who cannot believe that there are in India plain red Cotton Handkerchiefs of five or six Crowns a piece, and Mulmuls of a hundred and two hundred, will never be brought to believe that there are Chintz or Calicoes of M8ltan, of an admirable fineness and painting, that form Gowns and Djammas of four hundred

being elegantly painted in those favourite colours of the Gentoos, yellow and pink, proved a present exceedingly welcome to S8r8dj-Mul, who ordered their being made into a Djammah or Gown for his person, immediately; the conference being interrupted by this incident, Yac8b-Qhan rose, and in taking his leave, he said: "*My lord Radja, I hope you shall not resolve upon any thing, as I shall come again tomorrow.*" S8r8dj-Mul answered, that if he came for a pacification only, he had better not come at all. "*By all means,*" added he, "*do not come.*" The negociation ending there, Yac8b-Qhan returned with one Kerem-Ollah, a faithful servant which Nedjib-eddö8lah had given him, and being arrived in this minister's presence, he commenced discoursing on the possibility of bringing matters to a pacification by fair words and patience; My lord, interrupted Kerem-ollah, "*If there is the least spark of honor left in your breast, you shall come to war immediately: there is no other remedy, and no other party. And this is the result of the whole Embassy.*" Nedjib-eddö8lah, turning towards him, answered: "*True; and I hope to do for this uncircumcised.*" After saying so much, he sent for his sons Afzyl-Qhan, Soltan-Qhan, and Zabetah-Qhan, and ordered them to keep themselves in readiness to cross the Djurnnah to-morrow, at Rhadj-Ghatt; he also directed several commanders of his, then present, to attend with th i troops: these were Saadet-Qhan, Sadye-Qhan, Man-Qhan, and Mahmed-Qhan-Bangash, with some others: "*You must cross-over early to-morrow,*" said Nedjib-eddö8lah, "*and fight this proud uncircumcised;*" And they prepared themselves accordingly; but the distance being so small, S8r8dj-Mul was before hand with them; and at the head of his troops, he had already crossed the little river Heniden, and commenced intrenching himself on its banks over against the ford of the Djurneh. Nedjib-eddö8lah prevented by this manoeuvre, advanced by the

War between
Nedjib-ed- do8-
lah and S8r8dj-
Mul.

hundred Crowns a piece: they are of so exquisite a fineness that the two pieces are brought always in the Chonga of a Bamboo, that is, in the empty space contained in a bit of that reed between two knots. The Turband and Girdle are brought in another: and we have seen several such Poshacs, worth eight hundred Rupees and more: the Poshac implies the Turband and Girdle, with two pieces of ten yards each, for the Djamma. A Djamma of Shaul would not cost much more, in these days. The Chonga is a cylinder of about one foot or more in length, and two or three inches diameter, more or less.

gandj

gandj or mart of Shah-Dera, of which he took possession but which he left behind him, as a good post to secure his rear; after which he ordered Afzol-Qhan his eldest son to charge at the head of his vangard; and the engagement commenced directly. S8r8dj-Mull had placed apart from his army a body of ten thousand of those horses mounted and disciplined after his own method; and anxious to determine on what part of the enemy they should fall first, he quitted their ranks, and advancing between the two armies, with a small number of friends, of which Kelim-ollah-Qhan, son to Yahya-Qhan, his monshy or secretary, was one: he was galloping up and down, to examine the field of battle, and to make his choice; after which he stopped a while to make his considerations. Whilst he was thus standing, there passed by him some of Afzol-Qhan's troopers, who having been beaten by Mansaram the Djatt, who commanded S8r8dj-Mull's vangard, were flying by troops one after another. The few people that were with S8r8dj-Mull represented the impropriety of his remaining so near the enemy with only a few friends about his person; and Kelim-ollah-Qhan, with Mirza-Sëif-ollah, respectfully insisted on his returning. He paid no attention to what they said, and seemed intent only on considering the enemy's motions. They both renewed their instances; and he gave no answer, but sending for another horse, he mounted, and stood in the same place. Whilst he was mounting, it happened that Sëyd-Mahmed-Qhan Bal8ch, better known under the name of Sëyd8, was just flying close by him with about forty or fifty troopers; when one of these turning about recollected S8r8dj-Mull's features, and advancing to Sëyd8, he cried, *that the man he was seeing there alone with a few men, was no other than S8r8dj-Mull himself*; "I know him well:" said the man, "*shall we miss such an opportunity? If we do, we shall never see it again.*" Sëyd8 hearing these words, turned about and fell upon S8r8dj-Mull; and one of his men, singling the Djatt Prince, smote him with his sabre, and cut off one of his arms, which by the bye was maimed and actually entangled. Whilst the arm was falling off, two other men rushed together upon him and soon

S8r8dj-Mull
slain in a singu-
lar manner.

dispatched him, as well as Mirza-Seif-ollah and Radja Amur-sing, and two or three more: the few remaining, put spurs to their horses, and fled towards their own people. But one of Seyd's troopers taking up the severed arm, fixed it on the spear of a standard, and carried it to Nedjid-ed-döulah. The latter could not believe it to be S8r8dj-Mul's; and continued doubting of it for two whole days together. But it was past doubt in the Djatt army, which had retreated with still a formidable countenance. The second day Nedjib-eddö8lah having received a visit from Yac8b-Qhan, shewed him the arm; and the latter at once affirmed it to be S8r8dj mul's, not only from the maimed appearance, but also from the sleeve which was on it, and which happened to be of that very calico of M8ltan which S8r8dj-mul had put on in his presence. After this the death was ascertained, and it became public. This death is an event the more extraordinary, as it had always been observed of S8r8dj-mul, that in all his battles he never exposed his person to unnecessary danger, but reserved himself in some eminent spot, from whence he was issuing his orders, often boasting that battles were to be gained by art and conduct much more than by courage and forwardness. But at this time, however, probably because fate had overtaken him, he seemed to have forgotten this caution, and he remained almost alone in that dangerous spot, where at last he was cut down; and where, by his death, he relinquished to Nedjib-eddöulah a victory which no one had expected.

Dissensions in
his family.

He was succeeded by Djevaher-mull, the eldest and most capable of his sons, but who, listening only to sentiments of pride and resentment, quitted the high road of discernment and common sense by which his father had always distinguished the favourable moment, and sent for a body of Marhattas, whom he took into his pay. After which he besieged the citadel of Shah-Djehan-abad, to which Nedjib-eddöulah had retired: the siege lasted forty or fifty days, when the young man, tired of such a tedious work, proposed an accommodation, through the mediation of Radja-dilir-Sing, and the

the Marhatta general, Malhar; who agreed that they should give the meeting to each other in the plain of Qhyzur-abad, where in fact they had an interview, and where the war and troubles were brought to an end. After this treaty Djevaher-mull took into his pay Somro, the Franghi, or European; the same who after having been raised from an abject state to honours and to power, by his master, Mir-Cassem-Qhan, forgot the high obligations he was under to him, and betrayed him into Shudja-eddöulah's hands; by which he effectually ruined his benefactor and his whole family. Nor did he prove more faithful to his new master; he gave him the slip, and carried away thousands of flint muskets, many field-pieces, and a quantity of artillery; all which had been Mir-Cassem-Qhan's property. From that day he became independant. It was this man whom Djehaver-mull took into his service: proud of this junction, and finding himself at the head of vast treasures as well as a numerous army, he attacked Radja Djehi-Sing-Seväi, successor to Maha-Radja-Dehiraj, and besieged him in Djehi-Nugur. But there at last he met with what he deserved for his perpetual incroachments, and quarrelsome disposition; for although he had the advantage of an army disciplined by his father, and a good artillery served by Somro, he was shamefully beaten by the Radjp8ts, and obliged to return with his measure full of shame and loss. But no sooner was he arrived in his own country, than he put to death a number of persons that had been for years together in his father's service, and some of them in his favour. After all these executions he put one Häider, a chopdar of his own, at the head of his affairs and of his army; a measure that lost him the hearts of his troops, and shocked his commanders to such a degree, that one of them resolved to fall upon him and to put him to death. The man having found a favourable moment, killed him upon his very bed. He was succeeded by Rão-Ratan-chund, one of S8r8dj-mul's sons. This prince happening to be impotent, desired nothing so much as virile powers, and on that account he listened to the suggestions of a certain Bäärighi, or Attit-fakyr, who pretending himself skilled in alchymy, obtained from his credulity

dulity several fums of money. When the impoftor faw himfelf preffed for the remedy in queftion, he found no other way of extricating himfelf than that of killing his patient. Under pretence, therefore, of wanting to be alone with him in a retired place, he fell upon the prince and killed him; and after fuch an execution he was making the beft of his way out of the palace, when he was ftopped and put to death in his turn. Rāo-Ratan-Chund was fucceeded by his brother, Nevol-Sing; but a younger brother of his, by name Rendjit, having gained the favour of one Hansia (28), one of his father's concubines, took poffeffion of the fortrefs of Dig, and of all the treasures and ftore hoarded up there; by which revolution fo many new diffentions and troubles arofe in the country, that the pricipality feemed difmembered: and that formidable power raifed with fo much policy and valour, by his father, was entirely ftripped of it's energy, and reduced to it's original insignificancy.

Good char-
acter of Nedjib-
eddöulah.

NEDJIB-EDDÖULAH's power, on the contrary, rofe to the utmoft height: he became abfolute in Shah-Djehan-abad: he was himfelf a man of merit, and although an Afghan, (for after all the Rohilaks are only the beft of that race) he was attached to the rules of juftice and equity, wifhed well to every one and ftudied the repofe and well-fare of the people of God. But almoft all his followers, or even all of them, were Rohilaks; and after all the Rohilas are but the beft of a race of men, in whose blood it would be difficult to find one or two fingle individuals endowed with good nature, and with fentiments of equity: in one word they were Afghans; and that unbridled foldiery exerted upon the inhabitants of the capital, moft of whom were gentlemen of character or noblemen of ancient race, fuch violences and fuch extortions; and they invented fuch new ways of tormenting them, that nothing like is to be imagined; nor is there mentioning thofe violences with any decency, or even to any purpofe: the fufferers have fuffered, and paff is what is paff. Nor did thefe abominations ceafe until Nedjib-eddöulah himfelf fell fick; and thinking the climate of the capital unfavourable for his diftem-

Very bad one
of his country-
men.

(28) Hansia fignifies the fmiling.

per, he repaired to Nedjib-gur, where he suffered the pains of a lingering sickness that seemed to have no end. At last he submitted to the inexorable tyrant from whom there is no release, and died in a bed in which he had languished for years together. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Zabetah-Qhan, the only one amongst them that resembled his father, and seemed to have inherited part of his valuable qualifications. This Prince for a length of time bore an absolute sway in Shah-Djehan-abad, where he not only gave a general satisfaction by his personal behaviour, but where he applied himself more than his father had done in repressing his Rohilabs, and in bringing them under some controul. Some malevolent people having found means to excite discontents and an open revolt amongst his brothers, he beat them all in the field, but took no other revenge than that of assigning lands and a proper revenue to each of them, as if he had been intent only on gaining their affections. At last he had a quarrel with the Marhattas, and we shall see in the sequel the consequences it produced, as soon as we shall have cast a view on Shah-Aalem's person and court.

His death.

Is succeeded by his son, Zabetah-Qhan, a prince of good character.

WE have mentioned that Aaly-goher, since called Shah-aalem, had chosen his residence in Ilah-abad. Naturally low-minded, and of a turn of genius that wanted both acuteness and vigour, he could not live without being governed by some one of his people; and he passed his time in that city, governed by Munnir-eddöulah his minister, but always profoundly submissive to the pleasure of the English commanders stationed there. Nevertheless he of himself became sick of such a submissive inactive life; and being desirous of living in the palace of Shah-Djehan-abad, and of shewing himself with the pomp of an Emperor to the inhabitants of that capital, he availed himself of Nedjib-eddölah's death, to take his final resolution on that subject; and he commenced looking out for such persons as might assist and support him, when once in the capital. Numbers of discontented people in that mighty city repined at the prevalence of the Afghan administration, under which no office was given to any but to a Rohila; and they were

Shah - Aalem resolves to repair to the capital of Hindostan.

Opposed by
the English and
by his ministers

Parts willing-
ly with the two
dominions of I-
lah - abad and
C8rah.

this long while brooding upon their own discontents: all these being happy to hear of a Prince of such a ductile temper, took care to applaud his resolution, and to inform him that the Marhattas were the only people in the world capable of promoting his designs. With this view Sëif-eddin-Mahommed-Qhan, brother to Akybet-Mahm8d-Qhan, the Cashmirian, set out for Decan, where he entered into a treaty with the Marhatta rulers, digested into many articles, and confirmed by reciprocal oaths and protestations. After having succeeded so happily in his negociation, he returned to Ilah-abad, where he presented letters from them, purporting their attachment to the Imperial cause, and their readiness to support its interest. Such overtures engaged the Emperor to declare his resolution publicly; but it was opposed by his minister, Munnir-eddöulah, and then by the English, and lastly by Shudjah-eddöulah; who all represented the inconveniencies and dangers to which his design was liable. The prince was immoveable: he said that his final resolution was taken, and that he could live no longer in Ilah-abad. The English seeing him bent on following his own inclination, reluctantly gave their consent; but Munnir-eddöulah refused to follow him: he had already made a private treaty with the English, by taking from them a lease of the revenues of the provinces of C8rrah and Ilah-abad; and they had rewarded his attachment by presenting him with a djaghir or appanage of one lac of rupees, which they had assigned upon the product of Mahin-poor, and likewise upon Shah-djehan-poor and Arvel; all dependencies of the province of Bahar and Azim-abad. That minister continued in the government of the two provinces of Ilah-abad and C8rrah, until about one year after this transaction, when the Navvab Djeladet-Djung (29), Bahadyr, the governor Mr. Hushtin, came to Banares; where he entered into a treaty with Shudja-eddöulah, by which this prince took upon himself the government of those two provinces; and then Munnir-eddöulah paid exactly the balances due by him: but falling sick at that very time, he winged his flight towards eternity. His body was brought to Azim-abad, and buried in a Mausoleum.

(29) These words signify the "Impetuous in War."

leum, which he had prepared for himself; it was in a corner of Affed-olah-Qhan's house; a palace which he had purchased, and which had then fallen to the share of Kerim-c8ly-Qhan, his eldest son. May God Almighty's forgiveness rest upon him!

As to Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan, he followed the Emperor. Shudjah-eddö8-lah accompanied him for several days likewise, and omitted nothing that could ^{Continues his} dissuade him from his design, but in vain. Whilst they were travelling by Feroh-abad, Ahmed-Qhan-Bangash, sovereign of that city, whose beneficent turn of mind had engaged him to grant suitable pensions to a number of decayed noblemen, and gentlemen of the capital, deprived of their revenues; and who besides had approved himself the declared protector of the poor and distressed; came to depart this life: he answered his Lord's call by saying, "*I am ready, my Lord*, (30); and quitting this fragile world, he repaired to the celestial mansions. Shah-Aalem, on the very first news of his death, marched close to the walls of Feroh-abad, and in compliance with that shocking custom of the Babrian princes, by which they become universal heirs to all their officers, he sharpened his teeth, and set them against the moveable estate of the deceased prince. The relations observing how much he seemed bent on getting the whole of it, and that he had encamped at the very gates of Feroh-abad for that very purpose, availed themselves of Shudja-eddö8lah's mediation, and they engaged him to accept from Muzafer-Djung, the deceased's eldest son, a cer- ^{Seizes by the} ^{way on a rich} ^{estate.} tain sum of money, in lieu of all his pretensions. Shah-Aalem having carried his point, and taken up such a booty, continued his journey to the capital, and dismissed Shudjah-eddö8lah to his own dominions. The latter shewed every mark of esteem and regard to Muzafer Djung, and sent his own son to condole with him on his father's death; after which he returned

(30) *Labeic, Allabooma, Lebeic.* These words, after a profession of faith, are always pronounced by all dying men, or by men in great danger: they are also pronounced aloud by thousands at a time at the Pilgrimage of Mecca, where all Pilgrims coming to ask pardon of their sins, to die to their late Lives and to commence new ones, put themselves in an Ehram or winding Sheet, and cry aloud those tremendous words.

to his own capital, where he applied himself closely to his own affairs, and where he continued to befriend the sons of Mahmed-Qhan-Bangash, with as much regard and attention as if they had been committed to his care.

We have said that an application had been made to the Marhattas of Decan on the part of Shah-Alem: few of them had escaped from the edge of the Abdalie's sabre; and those that had so much good luck were rather skulking than living in those distant parts; when their hopes were revived by this embassy. Concluding that under pretence of assisting Shah-Alem, they would in fact establish their own power and regain the footing they had lost in Hindostan, they prepared forces and set out for the capital. Whilst they were on their march, Zabeta-Qhan thought it high time to provide for his own safety: sensible of the cordial enmity they had borne to his father and of course to his whole family, he quitted his own capital, and repaired to Soharen-p8r-B8riah and to Nedjib-gur, a country which had been acquired long ago by his father, who had it fortified to his mind: there he took up his residence, strengthened his post, and prepared himself for a vigorous defence. By this time the Marhattas were arrived about the capital of the Empire, where they took possession of every district in the environs, without meddling however with the Prince Djuvan-Baqht, who was shut up within the walls of the citadel, with the bare name of sovereign. Immediately after, they also sent a detachment to sack the country of Zabeta-Qhan. The Emperor mean while being arrived, took up his abode in the Imperial Palace within the citadel. He had been met on the road by Abdol-Ahed-Qhan, the Cashmirian, son to Abdol-Medjid-Qhan, a nobleman, who being exceedingly wary, artfull, and capable of adapting himself to the complexion of the times, had found means to live upon good terms with every one, and had been greatly considered both by Nedjib-eddö8lah and by his son Zabeta-Qhan: he was now received with great distinction by Shah-Alem, and soon became a favorite with him; to the great regret of Seif-eddin-Mahmmed-Qhan, who having been at all the trouble and expence of the voyage to Decan,

and

Arrives in his capital.

and of the whole negotiation with the Marhattas, found now that he had missed his aim, and was totally neglected. Abdol-Ahed-Qhan, engrossing now the Imperial mind, was soon decorated with the titles of "The glorious of the state, the lord of The age, My valliant son, the Hero ever victorious in war (33)," and he became the prime minister; whilst the Emperor retired within the Imperial seraglio, which he had so much longed to see, plunged himself into all kinds of pleasures and delicacies, and remained plunged in them. But Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan, the hero of his time, being of too active a mind to addict himself to such a life, now commenced to aspire to the highest dignities and rank, and to conceive that nothing was above the reach of his valor: he was incessantly occupied in preparing the necessaries of war, and in assembling as many brave adventurers as he could attach to his own person.

By this time the Marhattas, after sacking and ruining Zabeta-Qhan's country, were returned to the neighbourhood of Shah-Djehan-abad, where not content with setting an exorbitant price on their past services, they had become quite overbearing and insolent. The Emperor applied to Nedjef-Qhan for assistance; and this officer, although so inferior and unprepared, thought himself equal to the task of chastising such powerful enemies; and with that intention he marched out of the city walls, and encamped in the suburbs. The next day, a skirmish took place, and was succeeded by many others, in which, notwithstanding his small numbers, he always came off victorious. But whilst he was fighting abroad, his enemies, amongst which Abdol-Ahed-Qhan, Hyssam-eddin-Qhan, and Bahadyr-Qhan cut so conspicuous a figure, were actually undermining his influence at home. Those men who had all along fawned to him, although in reality they could not bear his presence, (and there is a known adage that cowards and braves never agree together,) finding now that the field was left open by his absence, resolved to

Falls out with
the Marhattas.

Is vigorously
supported by his
General Nedjef-
Qhan.

(33) Mudjed-eddo8lah, Qhan-Zeman, Furzend-Qhan-Bahadyr, Behram-Djung. All these titles (and this is to be observed once for all) had two hundred years ago a ways a reference to the man's character, as those of Duke, Count, and Marquis, had in Europe to the office of the incumbent. Now both the one and the other are become mere titles of rank, and no more.

disappoint his views by making a peace with the Marhattas, as the only method to come at Nedjef-Qhan, and to undermine a power which his personal prowess had rendered formidable. The most ardent in this scheme, was that vile Hyssam-eddin-Qhan, who was the man most in favor with the Emperor, and who could not bear so much as Nedjef-Qhan's presence. Without giving that general the least notice of the negotiation set on foot, he engaged the Emperor to enter into a treaty with the Marhattas; and the latter, who were thoroughly sensible that this general was the only man of merit at court, and the only opposer they had to dread, admitted whatever conditions and whatever terms were proposed to them; perfectly satisfied that Nedjef-Qhan being once put out of the way, it would be an easy matter to manage and subdue a pusillanimous prince supported by a set of timorous, low-minded, ministers. They therefore conformed themselves to the circumstances, and subscribed to whatever was requested. After this treaty of peace, the guards that were upon the towers and ram-

Who is himself
in great danger
from court in-
trigues.

parts and at the gates of the city, received orders to admit the Marhattas; and these being set open, those infidels marched into the city, and took up their quarters every where; after which their commanders went to the citadel and paid their respects to the imperial presence.

MIRZA-NEDJEF-QHAN hearing of this pacification, was astonished and confounded; but finding that all was over, he returned within the city himself, and took up his abode in his own house, where he was suddenly assaulted by a demand which he had never so much as suspected. The emperor eternally obsequed by his three favorites, who hated Nedjef-Qhan heartily; and intirely governed by Hessam-eddin Qhan, who was the leader amongst them, and could not bear to be eclipsed by so superior a character, sent the Mahrattas word, that he had assigned upon Nedjef-Qhan the sum of money promised them; and that they were therefore to get it from him by enforcing payment. All this affair was conducted by that vile Hessam-eddin-Qhan, who served his two associates, by serving his own aversion to

to that hero: an aversion which proved the main hinge of all his actions, although he was too timorous to betray any signs of it. He undertook to ruin him intirely, by filling the ears and minds of the Marhatta commanders with reports that could not but excite enmity, and nourish aversion and hatred: in one word he gave them to understand that Nedjef-Qhan by his turn of mind, equally ambitious and restless, was the only author of the dissentions that had taken place between the emperor and them; and that this would be the case for ever, so long as that general should remain alive. The Marhatta commander, incensed by all these instigations, sent a threatening message to Nedjef-Qhan, requiring him to provide for the sum assigned upon him by the Emperor; and strange as seemed this message, the imbecile monarch had the weakness to suggest almost every word of it. That brave man who saw now that his life was aimed at, resolved to sacrifice it to his honor; he refused to submit to oppression and infamy; and this resolution of his was announced by a vigorous answer. Some days were spent in messages and answers, and in sending and receiving envoys: a delay of which Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan availed himself to prepare for his defence. With about four-hundred men, that had zealously remained attached to his cause, he resolved to repel force by force, and to perish if necessary, but not without selling his life to the highest bidder. The Marhatta general, who knew Nedjef-Qhan to be a man of undaunted resolution, finding that he was resolved to shed his blood as well as that of others, became sensible at the same time that it was impossible that a soldier of fortune, like him, should really be worth so much money, as his accusers pretended: he rightly concluded that his insisting upon such a payment would end in much blood-shed, and in the death of thousands of brave men that must be necessarily sacrificed before a hand could be laid upon him: he therefore became very cool in this undertaking; being convinced, besides, that the death of so brave a man could never redound to his honor, but would remain an eternal stain on his own character, which henceforward might become an object of detestation and contempt amongst both friends and foes. Resolved therefore

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of the m glori-
ously.

to see the bottom of this dark affair, and to live upon some terms with that general, he sent him word that he wished to have a conference with him; at the same time accompanying the message with a safe conduct in due form. Nedjef-Qhan consented; and putting himself at the head of his zealous followers, all armed as well as himself, he went to the Marhatta camp. Tagodji, for such was the Marhatta general's name, on descrying him from afar, came out of the paleing of his tent, and saw him alight: after which he embraced him with the utmost regard, as an equal; and taking him by the hand, he conducted him within the tent, where he made him sit with himself upon his own mesnud. He then apologised for the message he had sent, and professed a high regard for his person. At the end of the visit, he made him a present of elephants, war-horses, precious stuffs, arms, jewels, and gems, of great value; and he dismissed him with every demonstration of regard and esteem.

Regains the
confidence of
the Emperor.

Who resolves
to strip the Ro-
hilahs of their
usurped terri-
tories.

THIS visit, having substituted acquaintance and amity for distance and distrust, produced in it's consequences a reconciliation between the Emperor and Nedjef-Qhan. In a conference before that Prince it was resolved to attack Zabeta-Qhan in his own country, and to make an end of him, by re-annexing all those districts to the crown. After this the Emperor with Nedjef-Qhan and the Marhattas departed together from the capital.—But Zabeta-Qhan informed of such a combination, did not think himself a match for it in the field; and sending therefore his family and consort, with all the persons of his father's family, on the other side of the Ganga, he resolved to make a stand on this side, having thrown his army in the fortress of Ghous-gur and the intrenched camp under Sugur-tal. He also sent one of his brothers with a detachment on the Rohilah-side of the Ganga to secure his convoys. Whilst he was waiting for the enemy, Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan and the Marhattas had already taken leave of the Emperor at the second stage from the capital, and they had marched into the enemy's country, where they encircled the camp at Sugar-tal; a number of skirmishes tak-
ing

ing place, Zabeta-Qhan was not pleased with his situation: and hearing at the same time that the Ganga had become fordable in many places, he sent a message to his friends on the other side of the water, that is to Hafyz-Rahment and the children of Doondy-Qhan, as well as to Faiz-ollah-Qhan, son to Aly-Mahmed-Qhan Rohilah; the purport of his representation was this, "That the Marhattas not being informed yet of the river's having become fordable, they, his brethren, might still come down in force, cover their several countries, secure thereby his own dominions, and insure likewise his rear and his convoys; that if they retarded marching to the banks of the river, and that mean while the enemy should get an information of some ford, he would not fail to cross over, to ravage their country, and to intercept his convoys; in which case he would himself become an easy prey, and their own turn would follow immediately, after which all would be involved in one common ruin: conceive, then, the consequences of a few days delay, and act accordingly."

THE Rohilah Princes, convinced of the truth of such a remonstrance, became sensible of their own dangers; and every one having assembled his troops, marched down to the banks of the the Ganga. Zabeta-Qhan to facilitate a communication, threw a bridge of boats upon the River, and thereby rendered the access of provisions and forage easy, and of little expence; and he intended to defend to the last the fort and camp of Sukur-tal. The Rohilah Princes likewise crossed the river, paid a visit to Zabeta-Qhan; and a consultation having being held amongst them, it was resolved that such generals as were already arrived, should extend their troops all along the shores for twenty and thirty cosses together, against the stream, so as to secure all the fords above Sukur-tal; and that such as were coming successively, should take post at those fords which were below Sukur-tal; in the same extent of country. This manouvre, by discovering a number of fords to the enemy, of which they did not entertain even a suspicion, put them upon looking out for others: Upon examination, it was found that the river was

Nedjef-Qhan
crosses the Gan-
ga, and over-
comes the Ro-
hillahs.

fordable almost every where; and that the crossing over would prove easy. After this discovery they made no movement for two or three days, their intention being to lull the Rohillahs to sleep; and then Nedjef-Qhan and the Marhatta general mounting together advanced against the current, as if to look out for a ford; and as they went on, they passed by several, which they all found guarded. But the guards thinking that the enemy intended to cross over much higher than their posts, became negligent in their encampment; and most of them believing the enemy gone some days journey farther, quitted their posts, and went over to the other encampments to see their friends. By this manouvre, some posts were left without either guard or defense; and the Marhatta, who kept an attentive eye every where, being informed of this, turned bridle at once, and came back on a full gallop at one of the fords which they had passed, and which they now found unguarded: without giving the enemy time to recover from their neglect and surprise, they pushed to the middle of the water, and were crossing over. The brave Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan commanded the forlorn hope; and he pushed thro the water vigorously, whilst the Marhattas were shewing themselves at another ford. The Rohilah general who commanded there, forced by these circumstances, quitted his post with the few men he found at hand, marched to oppose Nedjef-Qhan, and took post on an eminence: this being seen by the neighbouring commanders, two of them flew to his assistance, and joining the third, they commenced a fire of musquetry and rockets upon the enemy. Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan, who was preceded by some Zemberecs (34), ordered that kind of artillery to stand in the middle of the water, and to fire on the eminence; and he was so well served by fortune that the very first discharge killed outright the three Rohilah commanders; and here it must be recollected that the Rohillahs are a race exceeding covetous, little susceptible of controul, and of such a temper as to prove ungovernable on the sight of ever so little plunder. The moment

(34) Zemberecs are long Swivels, of one or two pounds ball. Two of them are carried fastened upon the saddle of a camel; and when they are to be brought into play, the camel is, as usual, made to kneel on the ground; but to prevent his rising, each leg is fastened, bent as it is, with cord, and the animal remains immoveable.

they

they saw their three commanders slain, they commenced plundering each other immediately; and a scene of confusion, and wounding and slaughtering taking place, they rushed furiously against each other, lost sight of every other object, and thought only of plunder and booty. Luckily for them that Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan and the Marhattas, satisfied for that day with the success of their trial, had returned to their camp.

BUT mean while the report spreading on the other side of the water, that the Marhattas had crossed over, and slain three Rohilah generals, a panick seized the troops of Zabeta-Qhan; and as they had already been severely handled by the Marhattas in their unfortunate stand against Ab8l-Mon8r-Qhan, they took fright and dispersed: without seeing an enemy or even a couched spear, or a drawn sabre, they all fled from their camp; but retained still so much of the Rohilah in their very flight, as to fall mercilessly upon each other, and to make booty of whatsoever they could lay their hands upon. This intelligence being carried to the garrison placed by Zabeta-Qhan within Sukur-tal, the contagion seized them also, and they fell a plundering and killing each other; nor would they have forborn plundering Zabeta-Qhan's place likewise, had they not been overawed by his pretence, as well as by a small number of his relations and kinsmen who put themselves upon their defense. After this fine performance, they set open the gates, and dispersed, every one intent solely on securing what booty he had made. Zabeta-Qhan, confounded at such a reverse of fortune, sent word to Fateh-Qhan to come over, as he wanted to speak to him immediately. This Fateh-Qhan was a Rohilah chieftain, who had come to his assistance of his own accord, and had encamped over against Sukur-tal. Fateh-Qhan was thunder-struck with the general panic and desertion; he proposed to Zabeta-Qhan to remain in the Fort as late as the dusk of the evening, and then to cross over to his camp, with what troops he could collect; after which they had no other party left than that of engaging for once the Marhattas in the field, and trying what fortune might produce in

The Rohilahs
plunder each o-
ther and disperse

Strong in-
trenchments of
Sukur-tal aban-
doned by them.

in their behalf. Fateh-Qhan being returned to his own camp, assembled his officers and relations, and imparted his resolution to them. But the effect made by his harangue is hardly credible: no sooner did these men hear of what had happened on both sides of the water, than they were seized themselves with a panick resembling a contagion; and quitting the assembly, they went home, collected their baggage, and dispersed every one his own way; and within an hour's time no trace of that body of troops could be discovered all over the plain. Fateh-Qhan without being dismayed, turned to his son, and bid him go over with some of the few troopers that remained, to bring away his brother who had been to see Zabeta-Qhan; the young man mounted, with some horsemen, but was hardly arrived at the bridge, when the contagion seized his followers also; who fell upon their lord and commenced stripping him. The young man returned without a turbant, and with his clothes torn upon his back. Fateh-Qhan, finding that his case was desperate, and past remedy, assembled a few troopers and servants, and putting himself at their head, he fled, resolved to retire to some place of safety. By the way, he alighted in a populous town; but here one of his men chancing to have a dispute with a grain merchant, the Rohillas, always true to their national genius, went behind his shop, and set it on fire; and the fire communicating from near to near, consumed not only all the cahuts, but even the brick houses and other solid buildings in the neighbourhood, so effectually, that there did not remain so much as a trace of the town. A person of character who was then with Fateh-Qhan, used to recount that the multitude of those that fled did not fall short of ten thousand horses and foot; and as they were passing by a field of Bid-Andjir trees (35) that were now and then waving with the wind, that whole multitude stopped short, remained silent, and trembled in all its limbs, having taken the above field for a body of Marhatta spearmen: nor did they recover their senses, but after some light horses had gone near and made their report: then only did those ten thousand armed men

(35) Fig-villow; a strange compound word, for which the Author is only accountable.

find courage enough to go on with their flight. Mean while Nedjef-Qhan and the Marhattas finding no enemy in the field, marched into the country of Zabeta-Qhan, and drew smock from the breasts of his relations, family, and consorts, as well as from all the inhabitants. The Rohilah prince, unable to make the least resistance, fled and took shelter in Shudja-eddö8lah's country; the latter consented to become a mediator between the children of Hafyz-Rahmet and the other Afghans on one hand, and Nedjef-Qhan and the Marhattas, on the other. Luckily for the Afghans that great dissensions having at this very time arisen amongst the Marhattas themselves, those that were now at war with the Rohilahs received orders from P8nah to repair in all speed to Decan. Proposals of a pacification coming at such a conjuncture from Shudja-eddö8lah, became highly acceptable: a treaty was concluded, and they turned towards Shah-Djehan-abad in their way to Decan. Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan returned with them; but the Marhatta commanders had during this campaign conceived such a high opinion of his character, that in taking leave of the emperor, they earnestly recommended him to his attention, and moreover appointed him their own agent at this Imperial court.

Zabeta-Qhan
undone.

A peace. The
Marhattas retire

NEDJEF-QHAN, now raised very high both in consequence of the opinion the world had conceived of his character, and by the additional weight he derived from the Marhatta's recommendation, turned his thoughts towards the means of rising to the highest honors, and to the summit of power: and as he conceived that it would be good policy to keep fair with the emperor and his ministers, he resolved to make conquests in the neighbourhood of the capital, in countries which seemed to acknowledge the Imperial authority, but where in fact it had not the shadow of power. He therefore asked and obtained the government of several districts close to the capital, possessed long ago by the Djats, and where no officer and no collector from the emperor had ever dared to shew his face. He afterwards called about his person a number of soldiers of fortune and other resolute men, to whom for the

Projects and
conquests of
Nedjef Qhan,

present he could afford but a small pay, but whom he rendered hearty and zealous, by promising them a share in the benefits of his future conquests, and the company of his person in every future danger. Having by these means assembled a good body of forces, he advanced at their head to the frontiers of the Djat country. But the son of S8r8dj-Mul, who after having subdued all his brothers, was fully established in his paternal dominions, had been informed of Nedjef-Qhan's designs, and was prepared to encounter him in the field: he had a numerous army of Djats, and was of late reinforced by the whole of Somro's force, which amounted to fifteen or sixteen field-pieces, and six or seven thousand of those foot soldiers called Talingas (36), and which are armed with flint muskets, and accoutered as well as disciplined in the Frenghi or European manner. The two armies met in the territory of Kevol and Djaliffer, close to the high road that leads from Acber-abad to the capital. As Nedjef-Qhan's troops were mostly raw soldiers, and this was the first action in which they had been engaged, some of them misbehaved and lagged behind; whilst those that attacked courageously were either slain or wounded. On the other hand, the Djat cavalry lost some ground, and matters wore a bad aspect even in the Radja's army, when Somro with his field-pieces and his musketry, making his appearance, sent amongst the enemy's ranks such a shower of balls of all sorts, as gave them no time to recover their spirits, and to rally. All Nedjef-Qhan's efforts to bring his dismayed troops to the charge proved ineffectual: he was himself wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, which made him lose much blood. But there happening to be at hand a large well (37), surrounded by a lofty rim of bricks,

(36) This is an over-sight of the author's. The Talinghas or sepahis, although armed and disciplined in the European manner, wear the Hindostany travelling dress, but adapted to their new way of life. Look at the Note 70, *Section IX.*

(37) The Indians have four words to express a well, and of course four kinds of wells. This which served Nedjef-Qhan's turn, was of the Baoli kind: these are wells of about twenty or ten feet diameter, with a solid rim four or five feet high, of broad solid Masonry; in which have been practised a flight of stairs for getting at the water, and also several niches and resting places for people loaded with a burthen, and also for sickly fatigued people, that want to descend or mount their horses. These wells have likewise an easy flight of stairs that goes from the fields down to the water's edge. There are thousands of such wells; and they are so many works of charity. All have either an adjoining grove, or at least a few fruit-trees: and there is almost always a Brahman that attends, and gives water to all comers.

he retired behind it, staunched his blood, wrapped his arm with some linen, and then assembling some cavalry, and some men of note, that flocked round the well, he put himself at their head, and returned to the charge, resolved not to survive a defeat: those brave men having invoked together the name of God, spurred their horses and rushed on a full gallop upon Somro's dressed ranks. It happened by a particular interposition of the Divine assistance that these soldiers that had hitherto cut so formidable a figure in Hindostan, were broke in an instant; and losing their wonted steadiness, they fled on all sides, with Somro at their head, leaving a full victory to Nedjef-Qhan's people. As soon as the Talingas were perceived flying, whole squadrons of Nedjef-Qhan's troops, that had heretofore fled from the field of battle, and had hitherto been mere spectators of the last charge, wheeling at once about, crowded round their general; and having now plucked fresh courage, they fell with fury upon both the runaways, and upon that part of the Djat cavalry that stood still to their ground; they mixed pell-mell with them, and gave the greatest part of the Djat army for food to their famished sabres. A body of these, however, having got clear of the runaways, marched out of the field, with steady pace and a firm countenance, and returned to their homes with safety and honour.

NEDJEF-QHAN after this glorious victory requested of the Emperor the government of Acber-abad-Agrah. The Emperor who had never received the least revenue from that province, and who saw even now the Imperial Palace and the Citadel of Acber-abad in the hands of the Djats, consented to invest him with that nominal government; and the ministers, like Hefsam-eddin-Qhan and Abdol-Ahed-Qhan, with their party, who did not love the proximity of the new hero, made haste to send him as ample a patent as he could wish. As that extraordinary man's fortune seemed to have just risen as from a long sleep, and every one of her limbs was glowing with vigour, she soon gave a full existence to that nominal government of his; and he forced the citadel

Beginning of
Nedjef-Qhan's
fortune.

He takes Ac-
ber-abad-Agra.

tadel of Acbar-abad to a surrender. Nedjef-Qhan, sensible that his strength consisted in the number and goodness of his troops, and in the attachment of his commanders, conceived that his situation forbade his thinking of hoarding up money, or of accumulating treasures : he therefore abandoned the whole booty found in the castle to his troops, and contented himself with such a share as had fallen to the lot of any of the generals of his own army. By putting himself thereby upon an equality with his troops, he endeared his person to such a degree, that he soon found himself at the head of a powerful army, with which he undertook the siege of Dig ; a fortress built with so much strength and expence, that it was spoken of all over the world as a wonder of the age. It cost him a siege of fourteen months ; but its capture raised his power to a pitch, and so much enhanced his character, that the emperor thought proper to invest him with the office of “ Prince of Princes ”, vacant by Nedjib-eddö8lah’s demise, and Zabeta Qhan’s flight ; and he also decorated him with the titles of “ The ever victorious ” “ two-edged sword of the State ” (38). Mean while the son of S8r8dj-mul, who had retired to another fortress of his, finding himself unable to stand before the new Conqueror, sent to ask a peace ; and the latter unwilling to bring matters to an extremity, and to drive to despair a whole tribe, who although vanquished, might, for want of subsistence, give him a deal of trouble and harrafs his new conquests, agreed to very moderate terms, that secured the victor’s dominions, and gave him an undisputed sway, but left to the vanquished enough to restrain their restlessness from the temptation of exciting troubles. Nedjef-Qhan, by such a peace, entirely pacified the Djatts, and solidly established the foundation of a power that henceforward brought him to a par with the greatest Princes of Hindostan, and the most illustrious names existing.

WHILST fortune was raising one man to the skies, she was in that same territory depressing another in the deepest abyss of misery and grief. This was no less a man than Mir-Mahmed-Cassim-Qhan, here-

(38) Zulficar-eddö8lah, Bahadyr, Ghalib-Djung.

tofore Viceroy of Bengal, who having departed this world about this time in that very territory, naturally furnishes a short article to our history. He had retired to the country of the Rohilahs, and having been well received by them, he was this long time availing himself of their protection to repose from the toils he had hitherto endured. But his character sticking close to him every where; and his suspicions inclining him to mistrust and ill-use others, his people were tired of living with him, and commenced deserting one after another. Mirza-Shemseddin, his faithful friend, died in confinement: nor was Sandul-ali-Qhan, an eunuch of an approved character and fidelity, much better used: this man who had been and was still superintendent of his sanctuary, had been in pilgrimage to Mecca, from whence he had repaired to Gohud, on hearing of his master's being there, and he had continued to serve him ever since. Even this man became an object of suspicion; and under pretence that if he had not been worth money he would not have come back from Mecca, he was daily tormented with reproachful expressions. Such a disposition of mind alienated all the hearts to such a degree, that his very menial servants and his slaves quitted him one after another: himself disgusted with his residence, quitted Ater-chundy in the Rohil-cund, and repaired to the Rana of Gohud's dominion (39), from whence he went to the country of the Radjp8ts, and at last he fixed himself in a town between Acbar-abad and the capital. There in a little time he departed this life in the utmost poverty and distress, leaving to the world a memorable instance of the instability of human things, and fixing an everlasting stain on Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, the author of all the miseries he had undergone.

THIS last Prince had entered into such solemn treaties with the English rulers, as had established the strongest ties of union, with a community of

(39) He was desired by the Radja to quit his dominions, on hearing that this fugitive had exercised acts of Sovereignty by putting to death some of his dependants, who were detected in an intrigue with his women. Some of these women were whipped, others threw themselves into wells to the number of ten; and his very cousin, Mir-S8pun, now Fateh-Aly-Qhan, underwent a flogging, and possibly would have undergone some thing more, had not the Radja rescued the young man from his hands, and ordered him to be set at liberty. He is now in M8rch8dabad, enjoying from the English a pension of fifteen hundred rupees per month.

Shudja-eddo8-
lah avails him-
self of what the
Rohilahs had suf-
fered from Ned-
jef-Qhan, to put
an end to their
domination.

concerns between them and himself; for they had bound themselves to assist each other in case of an attack by an enemy; however, whilst Nedjef-Qhan, with the assistance of the Marhattas, was ruining the Rohilah power, he had thought proper to remain a quiet spectator of the operations of the war; but after that general's departure, he conceived that this was the time to act in his turn, and to give the finishing blow to that inimical nation. As a hatred to that name was hereditary in his family, he forgot the friendship and union that had intervened between him and Saad-ollah-Qhan, as well as with Ynaïet-Qhan son to Hafyz-Rahmet; and he undertook to put an end to the Rohilah domination. Full of these ideas, he applied to Governor Hushtin for his consent to that expedition, and promised a sum of money to the English for their assisting him vigorously. That governor had no orders from the company to send troops out of the English dominions, or out of those of Shudjah-eddo8lah's, for the purpose of making conquests; nor had he their consent for undertaking any new conquests, either on the English account, or on account of Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, who was now their vassal. The orders from the council in England were to assist Shudjah-ed-dö8lah with all his might, against any one that should attack his dominions; and likewise to call that prince with all his power to the assistance of the English, should the latter be attacked in their dominions of Bengal and Azim-abad. The policy of that mixture of liberty and restraint consisted in this, that as the Rohilahs were a natural barrier to all these dominions, and their country afforded the only easy passes to them from Hindostan, it was expected that those people of course would be obliged to stand upon their own defence, and would oppose, for their own sakes, any invader that should undertake to attack the dominions of the two Allies. Shudja-ed-dö8lah, however, having pointed out to the governor several advantages that would accrue to both parties from the success of this expedition, prepared himself for war, with a promise of being supported by the English. Nevertheless, with a view to put an end to his disputes with the Rohilahs, or to demonstrate to the world the natural perverseness of

of

of their temper, he sent word to Hafyz-Rahmet, the principal ruler amongst them, desiring him to remember "how he had come in time to the assistance
 " of his nation against the Marhattas; and how he had rescued it effectually from the destruction intended them, by paying in their stead from
 " his own treasury a mighty sum of money, which had saved their country
 " from devastation and ruin; he added, that all the return made him for his
 " effectual interposition, was only a variety of tergiversations and delays on
 " the repayment of a sum due to him, and which they had not yet thought
 " of providing for: so that matters standing as they were, the Rohilahs
 " must prepare themselves for war, or pay, without delay, the sum advanced for their sakes."

Sends a message
to the Rohilah
Princes.

THIS message did not fail to make great impression on Hafyz-Rahmet, who was a man of great sense and much fore-sight. He sent word to Fateh-ollah-Qhan, and to the other children of D8ndy-Qhan, as well as to Faiz-ollah-Qhan, son to Aly-Mahmed Rohilah, and even to all the principal men of the Rohilah nation, and informed them that he wished to see them assembled at a certain place, as he had something of importance to impart. When they were assembled, he sent them the following message:

" SHUDJA-ED-DÖ8LAH, who has disciplined his troops, and mounted his
 " artillery, in the Frenghi (European) manner, and who besides is supported
 " by the English power, intends to attack you, and to make a conquest of
 " your country, as well as of mine. My opinion is, that we shall never be
 " able to stand before people that pour a shower of fire in the ranks of their
 " enemies. Is it not better, then, to avert so great an evil by repaying him
 " without delay the money promised, and which after all is nothing but his
 " due? for I inform you that we shall never be able to resist his attack."

WHILST the Rohilah Princes were assembling, Shudjad-eddö8lah had sent secret assurances to the sons of D8ndy-Qhan, " That he had no business with
 " either.

The message
remains unat-
tended to.

“either their family or their dominions, which were on the other side of the Ganga; but that it was only on condition that they would remain quiet, without interfering by their assistance to others; else, they might reckon upon their falling in the same fire that would be kindled to consume the others.” But this message made as little impression on them; and those senseless men, instead of listening to Hafyz-Rahmet’s advice, and paying their share of the money he had so long ago stipulated for them, were, on the contrary, averse to any accommodation; and preferring their money to any other consideration, they were exciting the others to a war; and this was the general opinion of the Rohilah Princes, who being in general young, ignorant, and proud of their bodily strength and valour, preferred war to a payment, and even exhorted the others to reject all thoughts of an accommodation; pretexting their inability to pay, and describing the ruinous state of their country. It was in vain that Hafyz-Rahmet was preaching, that “they would never be able to stand before the fire of the Frenghees; that it would produce clouds of smoke out of their breasts, and that of their families: and, that they would be obliged to run away from the field of battle, and to lose their characters as soldiers.” All that produced no conviction: doubtless it was because the Rohilahs having been guilty of an infinity of cruelties and extortions towards the inhabitants of Hindostan, it was high time that they should, in their turn, experience to the full all the violences which they had hitherto committed upon others. The time appointed by the Omnipotent Avenger was come; nor was it in their power to retard it by a single moment. Blinded by their own ignorance and prejudices, those senseless men thought only of taking the field and coming to a battle. Shudjah-eddöulah, informed of their obstinacy, put himself at the head of his own victorious troops; and with an artillery equally well served and numerous, he marched into their country, accompanied by the English troops, which were commanded by General Barker; and he commenced ravaging all that tract of ground. Hafyz-Rahmet, finding that his countrymen were bent on war, exhorted them at

(+) General Barker was already gone to Europe: the English were least
commanded by Colonel Champion.

least to assemble betimes, and to march to his assistance with all their forces. He applied especially to the sons of Döndy Qhan, who put him off with fair promises which they did not intend to fulfil. Some came to rendezvous only with a small force, and some sent only promises of arriving in a few days: and by this time Shudjah-eddoulah had already advanced in the heart of the country, and was close upon Hafyz-Rahmet. This Rohilah Prince finding himself hard pressed, resolved to oppose the enemy with what force he had at hand, whether of his own, or of some Rohilah Princes and chieftains, that had now joined him; and these did not amount to less than fifty or sixty thousand men. These troops he placed in a well chosen post that had in front a small deep river, with lofty crooked banks covered with brambles, and with a quantity of thorny trees; behind this front he placed his artillery, that is, such an artillery as he could afford, for it was an object of contempt for the enemy. The latter very little intimidated by this order of battle, turned the front of the Rohilah post, and passed that little deep river by the right and left. The combat commenced on one hand by Shudjah-eddö3lah's Talingas, commanded mostly by eunuchs of merit; and on the other by the English Talingas, all old troops, accustomed to face the enemy, being commanded by captains and majors, flushed with victories, and all of them officers of experience, and men of abilities as well as courage. The engagement commenced by the artillery of the English, which these people have the art to serve with so much expertness and expedition, that nothing can prevent its destructive effects, but a particular interposition of Providence, and an express miracle; nor could it be expected that such an undisciplined disobedient rabble as can be collected in India, would face such a rain of fire, as might be poured by the English. This is as much as could be expected from the troops of Iran, who accustomed to advance and to retreat only by order of their commanders, and mercilessly chastised whenever they shewed any delay or backwardness in action, were equal to an attack on such formidable enemies as those strangers. Such exertions could not be expected from the undisciplined Rohilahs; and in fact they were swept in shoals by that dreadful

Battle, in which
the Rohilahs are
totally ruined.

*a good hint to
the English*

Bravery of
Hafyz-Rahmet,
their general,
who is slain.

Shudjah eddö8lah
was 7 miles from
the scene of action

artillery, lost vast numbers of men, were soon thrown into a complete disorder, and fled in crowds towards the fields, but in reality towards the regions of eternity. Hafyz-Rahmet, without being dismayed by the slaughter that surrounded him, stood his ground with a firmness and an intrepidity that did him honor: he was followed every where by a number of faithful men, all resolved to shed their blood in his company; and he was seen wherever the danger called for his presence; until at last a ball of canon came, pierced his heroical breast through and through, and parted his soul from his body. Those who on his example stood yet their ground, no sooner saw him fall than they gave themselves up to despondency; and quitting the field of battle they fled on all sides, and joined those that had already preceded them. Shudjah-eddö8lah seeing that victory had declared for his troops, alighted from his elephant, and spreading a carpet, he inclined himself profoundly before the Lord of victories, to whom he made a short prayer in thanksgiving for so signal a success: he was yet prostrated, when the head of Hafyz-Rahmet was brought to him; and the identity of it having been ascertained, he prostrated himself a second time; but one of his generals, who had known Hafyz-Rahmet, producing a handkerchief to wipe the earth and dirt from its face, he was stopped short by these words: "*Let it remain as it is,*" interrupted Shudjah-eddö8lah: "*that dirt and mire on that face are so much*" "*ornament to my own. I return thanks to God Almighty, that I have to-day*" "*taken a full revenge for the perpetual insolencies and endless cruelties, which*" "*this bloody barbarous race has been continually offering to my father, to my*" "*family, and to an infinity of faithful believers.*" Whilst he was speaking, Zabeta-Qhan, who had still a body of a thousand men, was close to him. But this severing of Hafyz-Rahmet's head, which had been ordered by providence in punishment of the numberless injuries offered by that undisciplined nation to the people of God, seemed to be the signal for their losing courage totally, and for dispersing heedlessly. A panic seized the whole race; and spreading itself through all ranks, without distinction of age or sex, it worked upon their constitution as a vertiginous giddyness, which prevented their enter-
taining

taining any thoughts of ever joining together, or of assembling again to any effect. Shudja-ed-dö8lah after this signal victory, being become the master of the country, spread his victorious troops far and near, with orders to put to the sword every Rohilah that should appear in arms or did not submit; and mean while he turned his thoughts towards quieting the country, bringing it under order and controul, and annexing it to his own dominions. The rest of the Rohilah nation, struck with terror and dismay, submitted; and all their chiefs, reluctantly sent their obeisance. These were Fateh-ollah-Qhan, with the rest of D8ndy-Qhan's family; Muhabbet-Qhan, with his brothers, sons of Hafyz-Rahmet; and Fäiz-ollah-Qhan, son to Aly-Mahmed-Qhan Rohilah, the founder of that principality, of whom we have so often spoke in the first volume. All those Princes who had retired with a confused multitude within the mountains of Camä8, unable to bear the water and air of that climate, and overcome by the difficulties of their situation, repaired to Shudjah-eddö8lah's camp, with their principal officers, and acknowledged his sovereignty; but Fäiz-ollah-Qhan finding himself followed by the sons of D8ndi-Qhan and Hafyz-Rahmet, princes that had long served under Ali-Mahmed-Rohilah, his father, to whom they owed their fortunes, he conceived hopes of being better attended by the fugitives of his nation, and he retired to the foot of the mountains, with a design to live by making courses, and ravaging the enemy's country. Luckily for him that he was brought to his senses by the English commanders, who interposed their mediation, and presented him to Shudja-eddö8lah, with whom they had stipulated some conditions in his behalf: for they obtained for him a certain tract of Rohilah-ground at the very extremities of that country, which stretched at the foot of the mountains, and yielded a revenue of about ten or fifteen lacks: thither he retired with the remains of his demolished nation, and there he applied himself to the improvement of the country, and there he now lives with dignity and splendor. The rest of the Rohilah Princes, so far from being so much favoured by fortune, were left unnoticed, and even without a subsistence; and some who were suspected of knowing of concealed
hoards

Shudjah-ed-
dö8lah takes pos-
session of the Ro-
hilah country.

Fate of the Ro-
hilah Princes.

hoards and treasures, suffered every hardship in a long confinement. I, the poor man, have seen at Lucknow most of the sons of Hafyz Rahmet and D8ndy-Qhan; and it is from their own mouths I have learned their own history. It was a little after Shudjah-eddö8lah's death, and at the beginning of the reign of his son Affef-eddö8lah, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in a little time. It was at Lucknow that I became fully acquainted with them all, and also with a number of the principal persons that had a share in that expedition. But the most illustrious and valuable amongst these Rohilah Princes, was undoubtedly Muhabbet-Qhan, younger brother to Ynaïet-Qhan, which latter had once endeared himself to Shudjah-eddö8lah, by being his companion of arms, in his expedition against Azimabad: this young Prince seemed by his figure as well as by his character, to be worthy of dominions, or at least to deserve a better fortune; but times were too hard and insensible, or at least too blind to pay a due attention to so much merit; and he was suffered to linger upon a small pension, quite inadequate to his rank in life (40); and that too at the very time when Fäizollah-Qhan was complimented with a country that cannot yield less than twenty lacks of rupees: he whose paternal possessions in the life-time of the Rohilah power, never did afford above five lacks a year: a strange perverseness this! and a strange infatuation of the times indeed! which blind to real merit, and blundering upon incapacity and meanness of character, seem intent only on affording regrets and surprise to the sensible observer!—verfes:

“ Fortune, that known flatterer of the vile, has but one eye,

“ And that, too, is at the top of her head;

“ So that whenever she has caught a Jackass by the tail,

“ She cannot distinguish it is a Jackass's tail:

“ But after having raised it so high as to be at the top of her head,

“ When, finding her mistake, she drops the tail at once,

“ And down falls the beast from high, to break its neck by the fall.

“ This done, the Cyclope stretches her hand for another.

(40) A thousand or twelve hundred Rupees per month.

BE it as it will, it is certain that this treaty and junction of Governor Hushtin's with Shudjah-eddö8lah met with a very bad reception at home; and that the members of the council of London, which is the capital of the English empire, finding fault with every part of the whole expedition, repeatedly reprimanded him with great asperity, for his having permitted Shudja-eddö8lah to wage war with the Rohillas, and, moreover, for his having lent him the assistance of the English troops. But the governor having vindicated his conduct with equal solidity and eloquence, became a great favorite with the people at home; and from that time his favor went on increasing daily, and it put it in his power to regulate to his mind the Company's affairs at Bengal, as well as to attend to the changes that were taking place at the capital of Hindostan.

The treaty of the English with Shudjah-eddö8lah highly disapproved in Europe.

FOR whilst Shudjah-eddö8lah was making conquests, Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan, who had once been in his service, having lately shaken of his inferiority and submission, had risen by dint of merit and attainments to an equality with his old master; and the latter who had hitherto been brooding upon discontents, conceived long ago, now thought it expedient to take a different style with him, to forget his discontent, to commence his friend, and to talk of nothing but completing a perfect union between themselves: he even betrothed one of his daughters to that rising conqueror, and did every thing in his power to gain his affection. But Nedjef-Qhan, although now at the head of so much power, thought it incumbent upon his generosity to continue his former submissive style to Shudjah-eddö8lah, and to abstain from availing himself of the equality to which fortune had raised him on the theatre of the world. He continued to write in a respectful style to Shudjah-eddö8lah, as to his superior, even in an affair which required to be handled with great firmness as well as much delicacy; for the Rohilah power, having been for some time before in the agonies of death, most of the countries that had belonged to Nedjib-eddö8lah, and, by succession, to Zabeta-Qhan, his son, had been conquered by Nedjef-Qhan with the assistance

Alliance between Shudja-eddö8lah and Nedjef-qhan.

Followed by a
treaty of parti-
tion between
them.

tance of the Marhattas, some time before Shudjah-eddö8lah's expedition; or they had surrendered to his arms. Some of these districts were on this side of the Ganga and touched (41) towards the north to the dominions of Hafyz-Rahmet and D8ndy-Qhan, which were the territories of Chandp8r, Nediah, Patter-Ghur, and some others; whereas the greatest part of Zabeta-Qhan's country extended mostly to the west and south of the Ganga, and such were the districts of Barr, Soharenp8r-B8dia, and the rest. On the other hand all the countries that had belonged to Hafyz-Rahmet and the children of Aly-Mahmed-Rohilah, as well as to D8ndy-Qhan's posterity, had been taken possession of by Shudjah-eddö8lah: that is, all that part to the north and east of the Ganga, which was limitary to the province of A8d; such as the districts of Shah-Djehan-p8r, Bëreily, Anöwla, Bedäon, Bifföulah, and some others. The other districts on the eastern side of the Ganga, such as those of Sumbul, M8rad-abad, Amr8a, &c. together with all the country between the two rivers of Ganga and Djumnah, had been conquered by Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan, from Mahmed-Qhan-Bangash, and bestowed upon the Marhattas. But this nation, having since their bloody defeat at Pany-p8t, evacuated so effectually all Hindostan, that there was not one individual Marhatta to be found in any part of it; the conquered countries bestowed upon that nation by Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan, together with some others in the Anterbid tract, were divided amongst themselves, by Hafyz Rahmet, Ahmed-Bangash, and the families of Doondy-Qhan and Nedjib-Qhan; who received thereon the Abdaly-king's orders. Part of Zabeta-Qhan's spoils then being on the Lucknow side and part on the Dehly side of the Ganga, Nedjef-Qhan, who felt how much such a situation was liable to misunderstandings, set out for Shudjah-eddö8lah's court, with intention to come to an agreement with that Prince about a final division of those territories. Being arrived at that court, he examined with

(41) The Author wrote at Lucknow and at Benares on the other side of the Ganga; so that without knowing this circumstance his account of this partition-treaty becomes unintelligible; unless, indeed, there should be errors in the manuscript; and even with this circumstance, it does not seem to tally with the the geographical charts now under our eyes; and it has been thought proper therefore to deviate a little from the text, so as to listen rather to the information tendered by the chart.

him

him the net revenues of those districts that had heretofore constituted Nedjeb-eddö8lah's dominions; and it was agreed between them, that whatever was on this side of the Ganga, that is on the eastern and northern side of it, as Patter-gur, Chand-poor, Nedjinah, and some other districts, should be annexed to the Province of A8d; and that such parts as were on the other western side, with part of D8ndy-Qhan's and Hafyz-Rahmet's countries, should be annexed to the provinces of Acbar-abad and Dehly; to which they were contiguous. This partition having given satisfaction to both parties, and the limits having been agreed to and ascertained, the agreement was explained in a written instrument, which received the usual forms; after which Nedjef-Qhan departed to his own country, carrying with him the prince Zabeta-Qhan, whom he had requested from Shudjah-eddö8lah, and to whom he shewed every demonstration of favour and regard, loading him with presents and distinctions at every opportunity that offered. Shudjah-eddö8lah, after this departure, turned his thoughts entirely towards bringing to order and submission the Rohillah country, and towards incorporating his conquests with his hereditary dominions. But Providence, who had been preparing the causes of his dissolution from afar, had appointed the time, and it was not to be foregone by a moment. A disorder of the venereal kind made its appearance between his belly and his thigh, it was of the species called by the vulgar a Qhyarec, (small cucumber) In a little time it broke open, and commenced suppurating abundantly. As such an eruption had never been known to be of so serious a nature as to endanger a man's life, he made no great account of it, especially as the known and usual remedies were from time to time applied by some Indian or Armenian surgeons, and especially by some European ones, who were this long time in his service and enjoyed his confidence. Nevertheless the wound encreased; and as it seemed to baffle all the powers of physic, a suspicion arose amongst his friends and courtiers, about the nature of a wound that yielded to no remedy: and it was then that a strange and universal report prevailed, that, having cast his eyes upon Hafyz-Rahmet's daughter, actually

Shudjah-ed-
do8lah prepares
to enjoy his con-
quests.

tually in his *feraglio*, the young lady, who had about herself a full measure of that ferocity and sense of honour so remarkable in women of the Rohilah race (42), submitted to his embraces; but at the moment he was closing with her person (43), she drew a small clasp-knife, which had been dipped in poison by her mother, and thrust it, with all her might, into his groin; from which circumstance people accounted for the rebellious nature of the wound. But this report was certainly without foundation, and is unquestionably erroneous; notwithstanding which it ran then and still continues to run so strong, that there are numbers of people who will admit of no other cause for his death; and who reject the other as fictitious, and as an invention to serve a turn. Be it as it will, Shudjah-eddö8lah himself, astonished at the state of his health, resolved to return to what he called his home, by which he meant the palace which he had finished at Fäiz-abad, but which had been commenced and founded, as well as that city itself, by

(42) Whether the women of the Rohilah race have really that ferocity in their nature, which the Author means is what we know not; but we are certain that they bear the fairest character for chastity and fidelity amongst the Mussulman women of Hindostan, and are likewise the handsomest; tall, being slender-waisted, and with a long oval face, and small delicate feet and hands.—As to Sudjah-eddö8lah's wound, although we have seen an English surgeon who had seen it, and affirmed it to be a buboe; and the Author, doubtless out of regard to his friend Muhabbet-Qhan, eldest son to Hafyz-Rahmet, seems strongly to discard the story of the Rohilah Princess, yet is he obliged to yield to the the notoriety and prevalence of the report, which ran so generally at that very time, that the very detail of all that affair is come to be known. "Daughter" said the mother, as she was going away, "Remember that thou art daughter to a Hafyz-Rahmet, and the designed bride of a Rohilah Prince: thou wert not born to be any man's concubine, still less of that man, who has killed thy father, and entailed slavery and prostitution upon our family, which he has reduced to beggary. Go, but perish a thousand times, rather than suffer any defilement. If thou art a true Rohilah girl, that man will not prevail upon thee." The girl was seventeen, tall and vigorous, as are the Rohilah women, as well as beautiful and elegantly made: She had concealed the clasp knife in the tresses of her hair; and taking her time, she struck Shudjah-eddö8lah, who got up and retired, but who with a sign of his hand ordered her to be dispatched; and three Eunuchs plunged their poniards in her body. Such is the detail of that affair; and it is certain that such a story has always been reputed the genuine one: it is certain also that the girl did disappear; and that two thousand women that were dismissed subsequently from Shudjah-eddö8lah's *zenanah*, never varied a point in their narrative. We know a man who has one of these women at home; and she is one of the four hundred that had been bedded twice in seven years by Shudjah-eddö8lah: and of course a favourite. This woman constantly repeats the same story; is a person of great sense as well as much beauty; was acquainted with the daughter; remained two years since in the palace, and never could see her since that day; and she even was severely reprimanded for inquiring after her. In short this story was put into verses by the ladies of the *feraglio*: those verses went abroad: have been sung by public dancers, and are known to her. It must be added to this that a wound, which has degenerated into a cancer, cannot be ascertained for a buboe by any surgeon upon earth, especially after its remaining open for full four months, and its being operated upon all that while.

(43) In the original, it is, "As he was going to open, or disclose, her womanhood."

his

his maternal grand-father Saadet-Qhan. He mounted a Naleky (44), and set out for that desired spot; leaving his second son, Mirza-Saadet-aaly, as his deputy in the new conquered countries, and recommending that young prince to the care of Sidy-Beshir, the Habeshinian, a slave of his grand-father's; and who being very much entrusted both by the father and son, had risen to be one of the principal personages of the court: he placed him near his son, as a tutor and a guardian, and departed for Fëiz-abad.

ARRIVED at that capital, he expected a benefit even from the change of air; but his wound becoming worse and worse, and by this time had considerably affected his health, it was discovered that it had degenerated into a malignant cancer: he now called to his assistance some English surgeons, whom he joined to his ancient and trusty ones; and these spared no care or attention, but all to no purpose. Matters now wore a gloomy aspect: for although, according to the Scriptural sentence, that "the moment of death" is not to be advanced or retarded by a single instant, and a delay is undoubtedly beyond the reach of human power", nevertheless, as the Divine goodness, instead of bringing forth the events of this world by abrupt transitions, hath vouchsafed to make them grow out of one another, by a concatenation of second causes, some of which remain concealed, while others become open to view; these last are often attended to and observed by men of sense, who discover, even in the plainest of them, tokens of an attentive wisdom. And this rule is applicable to Shudjah-eddö8lah's dying when young, and to his departing this world with a heart torn by the regret of being deprived of the enjoyment of it, at a time when he had raised his power to a high pitch, had provided every object of enjoyment, and had resolved henceforward to live in a laudable beneficent manner. But I humbly conceive to have discovered the cause:—It was too late to remedy all the evils he had caused. It is true that he had many laudable qualifications, and

Remarks on
the singular dis-
pensations of
providence.

(44) A Naleky, is a paleky, either open or covered, but it leans upon two bamboos, like a sedan in Europe, with this difference only, that the poles are carried by four or eight men, and upon the shoulders; whereas those of a Paleki hang from the shoulders.

His character
highly reprehens-
ible.

that he lived in a very high style, on purpose to afford subsistence to a greater number of persons; but it is no less true that he used to spoil all the merits of that conduct by two or three ugly customs or proceedings of his, that would render all merit detestable; and doubtless it was in punishment of such excesses that the Divine Avenger, from whose minute recording there is no concealing any thing, thought it high time to drive him from this world, at a period of life when he was still young, and wished to enjoy the vigor of his body and the fullness of his power. He stripped him of the sweets of dominion and life, and obliged him to take to the road of eternity; whilst he was all the while lamenting his fate, and parting with this world with the most heart-felt regret. The first of these ugly actions of his was his faithlessness and perfidy to Mir-Cassim Qhan, who although far from being himself a blameless man, certainly had not deserved from Shudjah-eddö8lah the unworthy treatment he received at his hands. After having made every promise to that fugitive, and having confirmed those promises by writing them with his own hand on a blank leaf of the glorious word of God,—after having recommended the faith of the treaty to God Almighty himself, to the prince of the Envoys (45), to the proto-martyr and Prince of the Justs, and to his highness Saint Abbas, son to Aly, and grand-son to Ab8-Taaleb; (upon all whom may peace and grace rest for ever!) after having promised a perfect safety to that fugitive man in his person, honor, and fortune; and having received in immense presents and a variety of services, a full return for the asylum he had afforded him,—to change at once so far as to entice his ungrateful servants and soldiers to a revolt, and then to confine his person, together with his consort and children; and after that, to confiscate his whole remaining property without exception, so as to reduce a potent prince, once a bestower of lacs and treasures, to want the very necessaries of life, and to live on a footing with a wretched beggar; is such a series of shocking and dishonourable actions as no pen could describe without pain and horror. The

(45) Mohammed is the prince and seal of the Envoys—and Aly, his cousin and son-in law, is the proto-martyr.

second of his censurable proceedings, was his merciless disregard of the circumstances of more than two hundred thousand persons in his dominions (46), who all enjoyed either pensions or salaries, or whole villages or lands on which they subsisted. All these were, with one stroke of his pen, swept away, and confiscated; and immense multitudes of men were left deprived of their accustomed subsistence, most of them being of a sex or of an age that rendered them incapable of providing for themselves; inasmuch that vast numbers of them, ashamed to beg, and wanting the very staff of life, rather than shew their faces in public and undergo thereby a defilement, shut up their doors, and silently perished in want and misery. Vast numbers of others, overcome by the pangs of hunger, quitted their paternal homes, and turning beggars, lingered out a wretched existence, embittered by endless woe and boundless regret. It is possible that about ten or twenty of those holders of charity-lands (47) may have been arrant hypocrites, and such as were addicted to practices that might excite suspicion, and even fully deserve chastisement: such people undoubtedly ought to have been ascertained, dragged out of the croud, and punished according to their deserts; although he himself, after all, seemed inclined to overlook such misdemeanors in others; but he might have remembered that he had succeeded to those princes and sovereigns of India, who in humble imitation of the Almighty goodness which bestows its rain and its sun upon the worthy and good, as well

He confiscates
all the charity-
lands.

(46) Our author, who might require a continual paraphrase, or even a whole commentary, does not specify, whether those more than two lacs of men were in his ancient dominions, or in his new conquered ones, of the Rohilcund. Surely his antient dominions could not have afforded a constant revenue to these two hundred thousand pensioners, as well as a constant adequate revenue to the prince of the country; the author then must have had in view the aggregate of Shudjah-eddo8lah's dominions, both old and recent: and in the recent ones, the English, of whom so much evil has been, and is still said, and whose amazing prosperity is not of a nature to be forgiven by envy and jealousy, have been instrumental in securing a subsistence to an infinity of Rohilah families; and as to their own dominions in Bengal and Bahar, where they have indeed resumed an infinity of grants and lands, equity requires an acknowledgment, that they have conserved and likewise confirmed, an infinity of others; one half of which afforded a full handle for chicane, and resumption.

(47) The reader who has read in Montesquieu and in others, that there are despotic governments, and that in India the subjects have no land in property, must be informed not only, that there are no despotic Empires in fact, but that in India, over and above innumerable lands held in fee-simple, there are innumerable others, to the value of several millions sterling a year, that are always set apart for charitable uses.

as upon the unworthy and wicked, had never thought of depriving any living soul of the subsistence they found it accustomed to enjoy.

“Beware! for God Almighty, who is above and behind,
“Never has shut up the door of subsistence, even to the sinner.”

His heinous
disregard to the
honor and pro-
perty of the sub-
ject.

THE third ugly part of his conduct, was his continual disregard to the honor of his servants and subjects (48), and his inattention and carelessness about the rights of possession and property. Whenever he wanted to enlarge a palace or to raise some new building, he made little account of pulling down the houses and habitations of his servants, or his subjects; in so much that numbers of people, not only lost their grounds and materials, but their very furniture and moveables: the whole of which never failed to be reputed fair booty by those shoals of pioneers who crowded upon them at once and without warning, and reduced them in a twinkling to distress and beggary (49). Nor did any one, but God himself, listen to the screams and

(48) It was not an uncommon thing for a mother, who had a pretty daughter, to see her dwelling entered at once by a couple of eunuchs and half a dozen of constables, or cutwal-men, who seized on the daughter, put her in a covered dooly or chair, and carried her to the palace; from whence she never returned. It is true that a pension always followed; but then the daughter, the comfort of one family, and the hope of two, was gone for ever.

(49) To give a glimpse of those times by those that have succeeded, it may not be improper to compliment the European reader with the following story. A family of eighteen persons, all Hindoos, lived at Lucknow in a small house of twenty feet square, that had in the middle a small yard, no bigger than a dining table, but still planted with one shrub of Toolfy or Balm, a shrub held in great veneration by the Gentoos. The house was two stories high. On the father's death, the younger son ejected his elder, but abandoned the house himself for some time, as it seemed to be haunted by the old man. The elder brother presented two supplices to Asuf-eddo8lah, who promised to send people on the spot to take a local knowledge of the matter. And indeed he sent two thousand pioneers, who in one single night carried away every brick of the tenement, and levelled the ground so effectually, that it could not be distinguished from some other contiguous parts where that Prince was actually enlarging his palace. The man came next morning as he had been bid, and was informed that he must be an impostor or a mad man, as there was no house on the spot he had designed. The man was thunder-struck! Proper people being sent with him to inquire of the neighbours, the latter unanimously answered that they knew nothing about that matter; and the man thinking himself in an enchanted world, became melancholy, and then lost his wits, fell in demence, and then turned fakir. In 1781, we saw him at Lucknow: “brother,” said we, “you have been inquiring for your house this long while: have you discovered any traces of it at last?” “And how should I, brother Mogul,” answered the man with the most jocular air and tone of voice, “I knew a great many things of my house, but never suspected it had wings, and would elope into the moon.”

The reader will forgive us a second story, as it is connected with the subject, and gives an insight into Shudjah-eddo8lah's prematurity of character, as well as a proper notion into what the Europeans are pleased to style, the despotism of Asia. Shudja-eddo8lah, when very young, was smitten with the charms of a young Hindoo

Lady

and groans of those ejected forlorne families. But the day of account and retribution was now come; he was informed that he had but few hours to live; so that sending for his mother, comfort, and relations, he pronounced his profession of faith (50), and asked their pardon; and on a Thursday, being

Lady, whom he chanced to see at one of the bathing places: the young man finding that neither prayers nor promises could answer any purpose, resolved to enjoy the object of his desires by main force. He planted a ladder at one of the Lady's windows, (the houses at Benares are mostly of stone and three or four stories high), and got into what he thought the fair one's apartment, but where he was shut up by her relations, who ran to the cutval, or officer of the police. The latter thought the matter of importance enough to be reported to the young Prince's father. He ordered him to be awakened at midnight. "*Had you been equal to your office*, broke forth, Ab81-Man8r-Qhan, darting, at the same time, a formidable look at the man, *you would not have awakened me at midnight to ask me what is to be done with rascals that are escalading a citizen's house*. The cutval, who was a shrewd man (and no others are put in that office) having now his cue, ran back to the escalated house, and having seized the young man, he used him very ill. *You forget*, said the latter, sternly, *who I am, or at least pretended to do so—but I inform you that I am Mirza-Djelabeddin-Haider*.—*You! you! give that rascal*, exclaimed the cutval, *give that rascal two boxes on the ear, to teach him the consequences of assuming such illustrious names:—well done!—Now give him two kicks in the belly to teach him manners:—Excellent my lads,—two more for my sake:—well that is right now. Dost thou believe, thou rascal, that our young prince has been so wretchedly bred, as to quit the paternal house at midnight, to escalate people's houses, in order to rob them of their wives?* Whilst the cutval was speaking, the constables were engaged with the culprit, who being a stout young man, full six feet high, defended himself vigorously, but he was at last overpowered, thrown down, and woefully served with cudgels and sticks; and his business was so handsomely done, that being now unable to walk, he was dragged to prison, sometimes by the hand and sometimes by the foot. Being arrived there, a few hours after, the other culprits, who had their cue, quarrelled with him, and falling altogether upon him, they left him for dead. All this while he had received no victuals: the others used to receive their's at stated hours: he fell to prayers, was refused; attempted to snatch some morsel, was banged again; he fell to intreaties; quarrelled a third time, and a third time was banged. The Mirza, very much humbled by such a strange series of disastrous events, sent a message to his father, requesting his forgiveness, and his remembering that he had a son. *A son*, said the viceroy! *I have none: he is dead three days ago. Had I any, I dare say, that the young man, instead of escalating the house of a citizen, would have thought it his duty to protect his property with his own person, still more so his honor. I am paid for that purpose myself; and it is on that account they pay me taxes and duties*. The Mirza, repulsed here, applied to his mother—*Me his mother*, answered the princess, with horror and indignation! *had I a son, that son would not attempt to rob a citizen of his honor. Let the son of a whore look out for his mother in some one of the caravansaries, as well as for his father! There she must be, I am sure*. In one word the Mirza remained full seven days in that loathsome place, and was literally famished. At the end of that term, he presented himself before his father, who was then playing at chess; the young man looked like a ghost, with dirty clothes, and a famished countenance; and he was mixed in a croud of other suitors at about a hundred yards from the window of the audience hall. The viceroy, just casting a look at him, said, *So sir, it is you!* and continued his game. Six months elapsed before he would speak another word to him; and the culprit was all this time making his bow twice a week at a hundred yards distance, like some one of the lowest rank. The mother would not see him all that while; but at last she interposed, and she was supported by the whole court. The viceroy made him shift his clothes (he had not shifted all that while, and such is the etiquette of India for prisoners) and bid him sit down, but did not add another word; and the reconciliation took up a whole year.

(50) Luckily for the Mahometans this profession of faith has none of those very long and very amplified methaphysical phrases that distinguish the thirty nine articles of the English; and nothing of those still longer and and infinitely more amazing and methaphysical tenets of the Romanists. It is quite plain and short, here it is: *I believe that there is no God but God, and also that Mohammed is his messenger*. Here it is again with the Canonical, but less usual, amplification: *I believe in God, in his Angels, his Prophets, his Books; and in the Resurrection; and also that evil and good come from God*.

alamnlicated

the twenty-second of Zilcaad, in the year 1188 of the Hedjra, he expired, departing from the caravansary of this fragile world, for the regions of eternity.

ONE would hardly believe that with such a strange character, he should have been an object of regret; and yet it is beyond doubt that he has been regretted to an incredible degree. Several persons of importance and credit have affirmed that the report of his death filled the whole city of Faizabad with sorrow and grief. Muhabbet-Qhan (eldest son to Hafyz-Rahmet) who certainly could not be partial to him, and to whose merit it is difficult to render sufficient justice, has more than once told me, that although his family had been ruined by Shudja-ed-dö8lah, and himself reduced to the condition in which I then saw him; nevertheless, on seeing his corpse pass by he could not contain himself, but shed a flood of tears: he added that he cannot compare the general impression of sorrow felt that day by every one, to any thing but to what is sometimes observed in the last days of the ten first ones of the Muharrem (51), when it is not possible to observe in a numerous assembly one single face that is not unaffected with grief; he protested that the whole city of Faizabad was in that predicament, no face being to be met with, but was bathed in tears; insomuch that he doubted much

(51) The processions that are seen in the first days of Muharrem, being all armed, and marching with drums beating, and colours flying, represent the troops that flocked to Hussein: the fifth, sixth, and seventh night is spent in recounting the manner of his death, and the mortal thirst he suffered: this Narrative is drawn up in such pathetic terms, and pronounced in so melting a strain; and is uttered with so theatrical an action, that it has always drawn tears from even ourselves, who look upon that whole quarrel about the Qhalifat to be a political, and not a religious, matter. And we have seen a young woman at Lucnow, who on seeing the simulachre of Hussein's coffin pass by, followed by crowds in tears, screamed out, *O much injured Imam Hussein, I have nothing to give you, but my life: take it: I will die with you!* and straight she threw herself from a second story, and was dashed to pieces. Nor are examples wanting of men being worked up to a pitch of madness by those pathetic narratives, and those theatrical representations. A Persian, called Abbasi, a shop-keeper of Lucnow, and a fanatical Shyah, having been prevailed upon by Aly-beg-Qhan, a general of Shudjah-eddo8lah's, to personate Yezid during the last days of the Muharrem, for the consideration of two thousand rupees, was dressed like an Arabian monarch; and with a very large turban upon his head, he was placed in a conspicuous part of the theatre. But the assembly having been worked into a phrenzy by the pathetic narrative, some men in a fury got up, and struck the Yezid, their own acquaintance; and this having, as by a signal, set on fire the whole assembly, all those Persians, every one of whom knew personally the poor man, fell upon him, and hacked him to pieces with their sabres; whilst the poor shop-keeper was screaming out: *but I am not Yezid: you are mad—I am Abbasi, as good a Shyah as any of you—I am Abbasi,—No Yezid,—Abbasi, Abbasi.—Shyah, Shyah, Abbas Abb—*

whether

whether a single person could be found that day, that had not wept abundantly. It was then remembered, that about a year before his death, a tumour had arisen at his back or about his shoulders; and as both his father and maternal grandfather had died of such a distemper, it was feared lest the tumour at the back might turn out to be of a cancerous nature; and he vowed to send five lacs of rupees to the holy places: a vow which he performed to the full (52), after having fully recovered his health; but as he was himself predestined to die of that distemper hereditary in his family, he at last perished himself by a cancer. His body having been washed, purified, and wrapped up in a winding sheet, according to the rites customary in Hindostan, it was taken up by Mirza-Aaly-Qhan and Salar-Djung, brothers to his consort, who together with the principal grandees of the court and officers of the army, and the most eminent men of the city, carried it by turns upon their shoulders: all the while preceded and followed by an immense retinue of his horses, elephants, and his whole household, and by crowds of people that had been attached to his person. Whilst the convoy was yet on its march towards G8lab-bagh (53), where the body was to be entombed, his virtuous son, Mirza-Amany, that man whom people are pleased to call Affef-eddö8lah (54), anxious to sit upon the paternal throne, and fearful lest so many grandees and officers, who were as fully apprised of his incapacity and unworthiness as he was sensible of it himself, should pretend to choose a successor to his father from his other children; Mirza-Amani, I say, without any respect to decency, and without any regard to the plainest dictates of common sense in so awful a ceremony, sent trusty persons through the middle of the procession, with orders to bring his two uncles back by all means, and even by force. The two brothers excused themselves upon the impropriety of quitting the procession before its arrival at Goolab-bagh, and on the offence which such a conduct would give to the Mussulman people in general: but mean while other

(52) The holy places, with the Sunnies, are Mecca and Medina; with the Shyabs it is still the same places, but with the addition of Nedjef, Kerbelah, and Meih-hed.

(53) Garden of Roses, a pleasing seat at four miles from the Palace.

(54) This word signifies the Affef, or The wise Minister of the Empire.

messengers coming up with precise orders to bring them by force, the two lords pronounced a short apology and went away: some others, who had not been sent for, but who guessed at the sentiments of the deceased's successor, went back of themselves, to secure by such a conduct some part of his good will and favour. Affef-eddö8lah, after a short consultation with them, sent for Colonel Cleifs, [†] and another Englishman of consideration, who had been in great esteem with Shudjah-eddö8lah, and he told them that "a delay would be improper; that the decrees of Providence had been fulfilled, and that they had nothing else to do but to place him upon the throne of his father." The two commanders thought so much precipitation improper, and excused themselves upon their waiting for orders. The other insisted, intreated, and spoke much upon that subject; and at last he promised a great sum of money, should they comply with his request immediately: the two commanders having talked sometime amongst themselves, agreed at last that this man was the deceased's eldest son, born of a woman of equal rank to his own, and to whom of course the succession belonged by the rules of hereditary right: "After all" added they, "what harm will that do to us? on the contrary it will do us good" they immediately sent for a turbant, rolled it upon his head, and calling for the principal men, actually attending the procession, they commanded them to offer their nuzurs, and to make their bows of acknowledgement. The military music had likewise orders to strike up: the sound of this being heard by the other part of the retinue, which actually attended the procession, gave that multitude at once, as well as every one of the men of distinction that still remained, an insight into the successor's turn of mind: quitting therefore the convoy they returned to the palace. As soon as they were arrived, and the court appeared numerous and frequent, this virtuous son, who doubtless had been this long while panting for such days as these, took his seat upon the mesned of sovereignty, and received the homages of the whole assembly; and all this was done with so indecent a precipitation, that the music at the palace was playing in token of rejoicing, whilst the

Is installed in
the throne by
two English of-
ficers.

(†) Colonel Galize, whose name being written without vowels, ^{people} and moreover with a G not distinguished from a C, could not be read otherwise.

people of no note and character that had remained with the body, were performing the funeral rites over it; and the rejoicings were heard sounding, whilst it was actually committing to the earth. The new Prince now being universally acknowledged, brought forwards his ancient steward and friend, appointed him his deputy all over his dominions, raised him to the grade of seven thousand horses, gave him a military music, and the insignia of the Mahi, or fish, and decorated him with the title of Moqhtar-eddö8lah, or "The omnipotent of the State." This was no other than Mir-M8rteza-Qhan, brother to Mir-M8rtézévi-Qhan. But Iredj-Qhan and Sidy-Beshir, with some other friends and counsellors of Shudja-eddö8lah's, observing how the wind blew, thought proper to provide for their own safety. Iredj-Qhan, under pretence of obtaining the patents of confirmation from the Emperor, and of strengthening the treaty of amity and union that had been concluded with Nedjef-Qhan, obtained leave to repair to Shah-Djehan-abad, and thought himself very lucky to escape from the new Prince's grasp. In a few days more, the latter, under pretence that he could not agree with his mother and grand-mother, quitted the city of Fäiz-abad; and with his whole court and army he marched to Lucnow. After coming out of the city, he sent his mother a message requesting his father's treasures: for Shudjah-eddö8lah, who, on his making peace with the English in their camp, had been so zealously assisted by his consort, had from that time conceived so high an opinion of her fidelity, that he used to entrust to her custody every saving he could bring up. Some four messages passed at that time between the son and the mother: at last the latter consented to pay a sum of fifty lacks of rupees, in lieu of all the treasures entrusted to her custody by the deceased prince; and the son in appearance satisfied, gave her under his hand a general release, as having received the whole amount of his father's estate.

As soon as he had received the money, he made no more any scruple of exposing shamelessly all the ugliness of his whole character: he was a

slave to effeminate affections, and had long ago selected and applied to his use a certain number of the most brawny talingas or sipahees, who served him according to his inclinations, and followed him every where by day as well as by night, as if they had been his shade: all these were now brought forward upon the stage of the world, complimented with sounding titles and large pensions; raised to grades of honor and to the command of whole brigades; decorated with rich presents and fringed palekies; and introduced to court as men of character, and importance. Amongst this species of men was a Paleky-carrier, or chair-man, of his own, who had particularly taken his fancy; he was now brought forward likewise, and distinguished by the title of Radja-Mahera, or Prince chair-man. Another received the government of Besvara, and he there drummed himself as well as his master all over the country. In short, it was observed that all his favorites and all those that approached him, were taken from amongst the vilest of mankind. It is with such a court that he proceeded to Lucnow, where having tarried some time, he advanced to Atava, which is Anterbid, and the last place of his dominions towards the west, and where he remained encamped a long while. At this place he sent for his brother Mirza-Saadet Aaly and for Sidy-Beshir, who both obeyed the summons: the latter was lulled asleep by every demonstration of regard and favor, until the new Prince's emissaries had gained over to his side all the troops that were under the man's command. These being secured, a secret order was given to some officers to arrest Sidy-Beshir and to bring him to the presence: the latter had received intelligence of the order and was astonished at his being aimed at; but whilst he was deliberating with himself, the troops sent for him were descried from a far. He had with him at that moment one Mir-Bahadyr-Aly, a Seyd of Barr, who was these many years attached to him, and owed to his favor his fortune and his very existence. This man turning to Sidy-Beshir bid him get upon his own horse, and fly immediately. "So long as I am alive, said he, I will keep them busy after me. Mean while be mounted, and without loss of time, fly for your life to the
 "ferry

An attempt to
 seize Sidy-Beshir.

Heroical behaviour of Mir-Bahadyr-Aly.

"ferry boat on the Djumnah, which is but at a small distance; cross over at once, and then you shall be in Nedjef-Qhan's country, and of course in a place of safety. And you, added he, speaking to some friends then present, you owe as well as myself your very fortune to this man: see him safe on the other side of the water, and approve yourselves worthy of the favors you have received. Get away: I shall keep these people at bay for full half an hour."

Sidy-Beshir mounted and fled; mean while Mir-Bahadyr-Aaly advanced out of the wall of the tent, and engaged the enemies, sabre in hand. He fought with so much resolution and bodily vigor, that for a full half hour no one could approach the door to get in and seize on Sidy-Beshir. At last, after having performed feats of prowess that did him an infinite honor, he was overborne by numbers, covered with wounds, and stretched on the ground. But mean while Beshir had already reached the Djumnah on a full gallop; and finding boats at hand, he got in one of them, and arrived safe in Nedjef-Qhan's country. Whilst he was crossing over to the other side, Bahadyr-Aaly, who had cheerfully drank up the cup of martyrdom, was crossing over with a luminous face to the regions of eternity, where he was immediately admitted to the enjoyment of the parterres of Paradise. The soldiers straddling over that hero's body, got within the tent, and searched for Beshir; but Beshir was not to be found: they found every thing, save the ram of the black flock. After this glorious expedition, Affef-edö8lah took from his younger brother the administration of the Rohilcund, a country assigned to that young prince as his share of the paternal estate; and he bestowed it on S8ret-Sing, a Hindoo, who had been appointed Divan of the revenue of that tract, by Shudjah-eddö8lah himself. In all these transactions M8qhtar-eddö8lah acted with so unbounded a sway, that Affef-eddö8lah seemed reduced to a mere cypher. He obtained for Seyd-Mahmed-Qhan, his eldest brother, the title of A8tydar-eddö8lah, or "The powerful of the State", and bestowed upon him the government of A8d. His second brother, Muäzzez-Qhan, was decorated with the title of Muäzez-eddö8lah, or "The honoured of the State," and also complimented him with the government

Who gets himself hacked to pieces in order to save his benefactor.

M8qhtar-eddö8lah minister of state.

ment of Ilah-abad. To these titles he added a household of elephants, horses, furniture, and jewels, with every thing else suitable to their present high stations. In the same manner he raised every one of his relations, kinsmen, or friends, to offices and to affluence, both in a degree too much above their merits; and at the same time he depressed and neglected every one of those who had been attached to Shudjah-eddö8lah, or had of late attached themselves to the son: In short, his power and omnipotence rose to such a pitch, that there was not one man throughout the whole state, that dared dispute his will or oppose his pleasure.

Arrival of General Clavering and of two others from Europe.

Djan Brishtow appointed at the court of Luc now instead of Mr. Middleton.

WHILST so considerable a revolution was taking place at Lucnow, another, full as considerable, was taking place at Calcutta. After Shudjah-eddö8lah's demise, Governor Hushtin had appointed Mr. Middleton to reside in Affef-eddö8lah's court, in the capacity of agent for the Company, that is, to overlook and superintend the new prince's actions and conduct; and he had resided but a short time at that court, when there arrived at Calcutta three persons, appointed both by the King of the English and by the Company, to examine Governor Hushtin's late conduct. These were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis; who came directly on the part of the Council of London, which is the capital of Ingliter (for such is the name of the country inhabited by the English (55)). These three men, for a variety of reasons mentioned in the preceding sheets, acquired, at the very beginning, an ascendant over Governor Hushtin in the council, by overruling his opinion in every thing; and they made it a point, in direct opposition to his mind, to displace all the persons he had put in office, and to substitute others. Mr. Middleton was of the former number, on the sole reason of his having been appointed by the Governor. In his stead the three persons in question, but especially General Clavering, appointed Mr. Djan Brishtow. As this was a very sensible young man, he soon discovered how idiot and incapable were both Affef-eddö8lah himself and

(55) This word has remained in India to design England, ever since it was imported by the Portuguese.

his minister : in consequence of which discovery he extended his influence in such a manner that he soon became the omnipotent disposer of every thing in Affef-eddö8lah's dominions. M8qhtar-eddö8lah, the prime minister, together with all the persons he had put in office, were all imprudent, ignorant men, as I intend to explain in the sequel, having chanced to arrive at Lucnow at that very time. Djan Bristow discovered, in the twinkling of an eye, what kind of men they were : a set of people whose characters there is no describing, as bearing no similitude to any thing of the human kind ; with the shape of men, indeed, but with the inclinations, temper, and understanding of brutes ; below which even some of them might have been very properly ranked ! Djan Bristow, who was soon informed of every detail of their administration, engaged M8qhtar-eddö8lah to a conference, in which, mixing some compliments with insinuations of his needing a protection for some parts of his conduct which might come to light, he so far worked upon that imbecile minister's fears, that he engaged him to make over and cede to the Company the whole province of Banares, which paid to government only twenty-five lacs, but yielded seventy to Radja Belvent-Sing, its zemindar. Nor did this senseless man probably give any other share to his imbecile master in this affair, than that of communicating to him his own apprehensions and pusillanimity ; and no wonder indeed, since this master was become no better than a mere beast of burthen, both to the Englishman and to the minister. The donation was signed in due form, and sent to Calcutta with expedition. The Governor, as an Englishman, could not be but extremely pleased to hear of a gift that annexed to the English dominions such a country as Banares ; but on the other hand, as he had himself gone to that city expressly for such a purpose, and had in vain requested several times such a cession from Shudjah-eddö8lah, who as often had declined listening to it under a variety of excuses ; he could not see without concern that such a mighty affair should have been brought about in so little time by so young a man as Djan-Brishtow ; who in dignity and station was like a drop of water in the ocean when compared to him. His concern was

heightened by this particular circumstance, that this young man was attached to the general's party, and would necessarily by such a transaction acquire the highest merit with the Company at home, and with the men in power in London. What is very singular, and gives an insight into that improvidence so characteristic in M8qhtar-eddö8lah's turn of mind, is, that he finished at once such a mighty affair, without once thinking of stipulating with the Council of Calcutta some conditions of protection to himself, in any future emergency: for it is certain that he had it in his power to make such a merit of that service of his, even in Europe, as might have brought the principal rulers of those parts to conclude with him a treaty that would have secured his influence, as well as his personal safety, against all attempts! The consequence of such a treaty would have been, that no man would have dared to say an angry word to him, so far from thinking of putting him to death: and even in the supposition that he might still have been made away with, his death would have been resented with torrents of blood by a set of men, who would have revenged it at all events, and even by transferring the dominion of those countries from Shudjah-eddö8lah's posterity to that of the minister's. But heaven being bent on ruining and destroying the inhabitants of these climes, it happens that it is always the most imbecile and ignorant of men that chance to get at the helm; or if that helm be sometimes managed by men of sense, abilities, and experience, they become quite different from themselves, the moment they have got into that station; where they only seem intent on doing what they ought to abstain from, and in keeping at a distance from what they ought to perform.

In this manner then Banares, with all its advantages, was severed from Shudjah-eddö8lah's dominions, and annexed for ever to the English possessions of Azimabad and Bengal: and in this manner did Djan Brishtow work himself into so much influence, that nothing went forwards, and nothing could be transacted in the A8d, the Rohilcund, and the Anterbid, without his own management or special consent: Affef-eddö8lah himself,
glad

glad to have found a man who so willingly undertook to free him from the burthen of governing, was heard to say several times in an audible voice and in full court, that Djan-Brishtow was his brother. "I have left," added he, "The disposal of all affairs to his hands: let every one be obedient to whatever he shall command." To get rid still more of all cares, he took offense at some of his father's ancient commanders, and picked up a quarrel with the troops he had disciplined and trained; and fancying that the money spent in keeping up those troops was so much treasure use-

Senseless conduct of Affeddö8lah.

lessly squandered away, he took measures to get rid of them all, that is, to get rid of his own wings and feathers. This event was brought about in a strange manner.

SHUDJAH-EDDÖ8LAH had formed a corps of four or five thousand men, composed entirely of gentlemen of ruined families, from about Shah-Dje-han-abad and its enverions, to whom he allowed a high pay of fifteen Rupees per month, after having put them under the command of Seyd-ally, an able officer, who accoutred and disciplined them in the English manner. They had only match-locks; but frequent training had rendered them so expert at these, that they fired with them as fast as the others did with flint muskets; and as that corps applied itself diligently to their duty, and it contained even some men of distinction, the Prince shewed them a particular regard, and seemed to prefer them to his other troops.— Affeddö8lah who seemed bent on discarding every one of those officers that had distinguished themselves in his father's service, and who made it his affair to strip himself of his own wings and feathers, resolved in secret to break this valuable corps: he sent for the whole of them, and ordered them to encamp at some distance from the rest of the army. As soon as they were encamped, an order came to them to return their field-pieces to the park of artillery; and with this order they complied, reserving only one or two pieces at most upon their flanks. An order came to return these two pieces also, together with their musquets and accoutrements: on this order, the men apprehended that nothing less was

He disbands his father's disciplined troops, and discards his best officers.

meant

meant than to disarm them first, and then to break and disperse them, without paying them their arrears. On this discovery, they answered, that they were ready to return both the two pieces of canon and their musquets, but that their arrears must be discharged previously. The Navvab was incensed at this answer, and turning towards M8qhtar-eddö8lah, he observed that these people were insolent, and deserved immediate chastisement. The minister answered, that they were his Highness's servants, and seemed to be in the right, as they requested no more than their due; adding, that he did not believe they harboured any other design. Affef-ed-dö8lah, displeased at this apology, answered, "*Then I must go myself, if you do not chuse to go.*" The minister, reflecting that whilst the prince was resolved to fight them in person it would be improper in himself not to follow his master; and concluding that a refusal would cast a reflection upon his character and do much mischief, submitted to the order, although with visible reluctance; and putting himself at the head of his own troops and of several bodies that joined him, he marched against those poor people. The latter, without being daunted by the sight, ranged themselves in battle; and although their commander was dead, and they were destitute of officers, they stood their ground and fought so bravely, that they had repulsed and beaten M8qhtar-eddö8lah infaillibly, had they been properly commanded, or had they been assisted, though ever so little, by some other corps; but the minister had such a superiority in numbers, artillery, and ammunition, that he prevailed at last, but not without losing an infinity of men, in killed and wounded. The others now reduced to a very small number, and these too destitute of ammunition, fled and dispersed every one his own way. A vast number of men, every one Affef-eddö8lah's servants, and every one ready to shed their blood for his sake, were uselessly left on the field of this bloody battle; and that senseless man, instead of weeping for the loss, rejoiced at the event, as if his arms had that day gained a great advantage.

THIS corps being disposed of in this manner, the wise man turned his views to some other disciplined corps, which had been put by his father under

under the command of his bravest and ablest eunuchs, at the rate of five or six battalions to each, giving the latter English names of military grades, such as those of colonels and generals. These were disciplined and trained in the English manner, and had each of them several pieces of cannon, well mounted and well served. These eunuchs observing the turn of mind and particular temper of their new master, had every one of them set up a scheme of their own in their heads, and were thinking how to bring it to a completion. One of these was the eunuch Bessent-Qhan (56), a man in great credit with his late master; and who indeed richly deserved his confidence for his bravery and abilities; he was therefore too high spirited to crouch to M8qhtar-eddö8lah, and on all occasions pretended to an equality with him. Hence many bickerings had several times arisen between them, which had been made up by the mediation of common friends. But there happened one at this very time which soured their minds to such a degree, that no reconciliation seemed likely to take place; and on the other hand, the Navvab himself seemed very much cooled with respect to his minister, whose absolute sway and close connections with Djan Brishtow he did not relish at all; and he was thinking how to get himself rid of such an overbearing man: when this inclination of his having been guessed by Bessent, who went by the name of the general, the latter offered his services to the Navvab, his intention being to watch a proper opportunity, and to fall at once upon the minister. In appearance, he seemed to be actuated by the Navvab's consent, and under his influence; but in fact he had already arranged his project with Mirza-Saadet-Aaly, and he intended, after having dispatched the minister, to fall upon the master, with one and the same breath, without giving him time to recollect himself; after which the tragedy would have been finished by placing Mirza-Saadet-Aaly upon the throne.

The principal Military Officers think of providing for themselves.

Bessent-Qhan, an eunuch, one of them.

He offers to serve his master in killing the Prime minister.

THIS scheme having been fixed upon, Bessent put in motion so many secret resorts, that the breach between him and M8qhtar-eddö8lah was

(56) Bessent Qhan, signifies the Lord Spring.

made up: friends interposed, apologies were accepted; and a reconciliation upon fresh terms taking place, a treaty was concluded between them, which was confirmed and strengthened by all those false oaths and those feigned protestations that had become current in that faithless court. This done, he invited the minister to an entertainment, that is, to pass the whole day in his house, and the night in looking at an exhibition of dances, after which he was to return home at day-break. As the minister's days had been counted, and their term was come, he thoughtlessly accepted the invitation, and repaired to court, where he obtained leave of absence for one day and night, and then went to Bessent's house. Mean while the latter had assembled some friends in appearance to do honor to his guest: amongst these were two sons of Mir-Bakyr, the one called M8rad-Aaly, and the other L8tf-Aaly: he informed these of his intention to dispatch the minister, and he entrusted them with the business: they accepted the proposal, and got themselves ready for the execution. Whilst they were receiving their last orders, the minister himself arrived with all the pomp customary in that high office. Bessent came out of his house, and standing at the door, he made a profound bow, received the minister with every demonstration of respect and honor, and carried him to the hall of audience, where he made him sit on a mesned magnificently fitted for the occasion. It must be observed, that as the season was the hottest of the year, most of the principal men of the army and court had dug apartments under ground, to serve as shelter against the excessive fultriness of the weather; these were called ta-qhanas, or heat-houses; and they used to retire in them for the greatest part of the day. Bessent, in imitation of these, had likewise prepared such a subterraneous apartment; but it was with so much expense and elegance, that one would have thought it to have been fitted on purpose for the occasion. The morning growing hot, Bessent proposed to his guest to strip, and descend into the ta-qhana; and the minister blinded by his destiny, went down. A moment after, Bessent represented how little it was proper in such sultry weather to remain full dressed; and he proposed to strip: the minister stripped, and sat in an undress.

undress. Some of Bessent's most agreeable women were introduced at the same time, elegantly dressed and highly perfumed; so that the minister's senses were all agreeably struck and kept occupied at one and the same time; but some of Bessent's intimate friends have informed me in the sequel that care had been taken to mix poison in the wine which the minister had just been drinking, and that he could not have escaped by any means, even supposing that he should have not been killed with an armed hand. The entertainment being over, and the sun past the meridian, he thought proper to dismiss most of his friends to their own homes; and he prepared himself to take a nap, which he did not know to be his last, and in which he was going to be conducted to the gates of eternity. By this time none of his friends remained in the house, or if any, they had, as well as all the servants, stretched themselves in some corner, to take their afternoon nap. At this moment M8rad-Aaly with his brother and two or three more, descended in the ta-qhanah, and falling upon him with their sabres, they hacked him to pieces. Some of his servants who happened to be awake, fled instantly, and carried the intelligence to the minister's quarters. Bessent, at the same time, repaired to camp, where every thing was previously prepared; he took with him some companies of Talingas, and two pieces of cannon, and without loss of time, he marched on to the Navvab's quarters. The guards and centinels desired them to stand at a distance, and would admit only Bessent with a few men. He went in, and presenting himself with his drawn sabre before the Navvab, he made his bow, and wished him joy on an execution that had been compassed by his orders, and had delivered him from his enemy. The Navvab, fearful for his own life, asked him "*why he had come with his drawn sabre, and whether he intended to serve him as he had served the other?*" He answered, that he was too grateful a servant to raise his hand upon his good master. *Then throw away your sabre,* replied the Navvab. The man, whose last hour was come, had the impudence to throw his weapon away; which he had no sooner done, than, the Navvab making a sign to the people behind the man, they fell upon

The prime-minister murdered, by Bessent Qhan's management.

upon him and dispatched him, in the same manner as he had dispatched the minister. Whilst this was doing, an uncle of Bessent's better known under the name of "The Great Mirza," chanced to come to court, as he often used to do; and seeing his nephew stretched on the ground, he drew his sabre, and cried out, *that, if no one had any business with him, he would have no business with any one.*—"Nobody wishes you ill," said the Navvab, who now feared that his turn was come, "*but please to go out:*" and he, at the same time, cried aloud to the people who were without, to let him pass. He, therefore, went out; but as he offered no injury to any one, (and he was known to be a man of resolution) he was suffered to go home.

MIRZA-SAADET-ALY, on the first report of M8qhtar-eddö8lah's death, had armed himself, and mounting his horse, he had repaired straight to the quarters of the Ghossäins (57), who were two of the principal commanders of the army; but he learnt that Bessent was killed. As he had come to camp armed and mounted, so as to be remarked by every one, he was confounded, and knew not what to do with himself, not daring either to attack the Navvab, or to stay where he was. "*If you will stand by me,*" said he to the Ghossain, "*we shall be able to do great things, and then there will be no command or office above your merits.*" The Ghossain excused himself; and Saadet-aly, finding his own case desperate, requested of him a horse capable of performing a long voyage in one day. The latter sent for his favorite mare, an animal that would travel thirty or forty cosses in one day; and he desired him to make use of her, and to save his life. The latter mounted, and with no other company than that of his preceptor and tutor, Tefezzul-Hosseïn-Qhan, and a few servants, he fled unpursued, and continued his journey as far as the Djumnah; where, crossing over, he arrived safe in Nedjef-Qhan's dominions. Nedjef-Qhan, hearing of his arrival, mounted, and went out to receive him; after which he carried him to his own palace, where he gave him a suitable apartment, made him

(57) A Ghossain is a religious, always a Gentoo, who abstains from marriage, and goes naked, or nearly so.

a present of some districts to defray his expences, and complimented him with a numerous brigade of some thousands cavalry and infantry. But although he assisted him with the generosity of a prince, he always behaved to him with the respectful deportment of an ancient servant. He was not pleased that Saadet-aaly should come to pay him visits; but he always went to see him himself, and always shewed him every demonstration of respect and honour. Whenever Saadet-aaly chose to go to him, Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan used to meet him at the gate of his palace; where, taking him by the hand, he used to carry him to the hall of audience, and to make him sit on his own mesned; after which he took his seat at a little distance.

And handsomely received by Nedjef-Qhan.

ON sight of such proceedings of Afef-eddo8lah, the commanders that had served with distinction under his father, became exceedingly suspicious; and every one of them turned his views towards saving himself. But as there remains no employment now in Hindostan for military men, especially since the introduction of Talingas, and a Prince equally generous and valiant as well as friendly to the soldier, is a being so scarce and so difficult to be found, that it seems that the race of such men has totally disappeared from the face of the earth: so, all those disgusted officers after much uneasiness of mind, were obliged to stay where they were, and to go on with dissembling. One of these commanders was Mahb8b-aaly-Qhan, an eunuch that wanted neither valour nor merit: on observing the conduct of his master's son, he was confounded and at a loss how to act. He commanded a body of about ten or twelve thousand cavalry and infantry, as well as Talingas, armed with flint-locks; and he had been placed by his late master at Atava and Corrah, two places frontiers to the Marhattas, where he lived in great state, and was much respected by the country. Afef-eddo8lah who wanted both to ruin and disperse his troops, was nevertheless desirous to prevent his running away; expecting that forced by the want of employment, he would come with a few friends to throw himself at his feet. The other had no objections, even to that, provided it could be done with safety; else, he intended to make the best

of his way to Nedjef-Qhan's army. Affef-eddö8lah, fearful lest he might carry all his troops with him, conferred on the subject with Djan-Brish-tow; and it was agreed that English troops under the command of some able captains, should be secretly sent to seize him; nor was this scheme imparted to any one else. The reason of his wanting to make away with his old troops, and his most valuable servants, was this: he dreaded their influence in a country which he had not himself any talent to govern; for his whole soul was engrossed by the pleasure of serving as porter to the brawniest of his servants; in having those people perpetually at his elbows by day as well as by night; and in amusing himself with the childish pastimes of cock-fighting, kite-flying, and the like: he knew that government was a penible business that required the whole of an able man's time: that it was requisite that this able man should be perpetually working himself, and mean while inspecting the accounts and conduct of his heads of offices, as well as that of his commanders and ministers, without, however ceasing to converse perpetually with them: all these he detested, for they were all impossible to him. On the other hand he knew that he was precisely the man which the English wanted at the head of a sovereignty: a man incapable of any business at all, save that of enjoying his pleasures; and sensible that they would never endure patiently that any injury should be done him, he was resolved to leave on their own shoulders the whole burthen of governing, and to reserve for himself only the sweets of it. The English on their side, who are a shrewd, keen-sighted set of people, let him take his own courses, and even paid a regard to the rank and station of that strange species of favorites with which he was so much enamoured: without minding their special business with him; they contented themselves with governing with an absolute sway every thing relative to revenue and war; and with disciplining troops, and keeping them at all times in readiness for action. Under the veil of such an imbecile Prince, they are in fact the sole masters of all the revenue-offices, and of all the districts of the country, as well as of every preparative for war. And what is singular, both parties seem to be satisfied, and pleased with their lot.

lot. All that cannot be denied: but it cannot be denied neither, that meanwhile in consequence of such a partition, that house of Shudjah-eddöula, which had been heretofore inhabited by a real Lieutenant of the ancient and glorious Emperors of Hindostan; which had afforded bread and employment to a lac of soldiers and to a thousand eminent commanders and noblemen; that house that had constantly presented a sure resource to so many ruined families of the first rank; that house which seemed a copy in miniature of the Imperial palace of Hindostan; that house is now become a den of thieves, and a tavern for the vilest of mankind; insomuch, that it is become impossible to trace out the collateral remains of the families of Saadet-Qhan and Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan, and of some other illustrious families. And yet it is undeniable that Shudja-eddö8lah, the last of those families, had afforded a subsistence to twenty or thirty thousand horses, and to fifty or sixty thousand foot: that his camp afforded fortunes to a multitude of merchants, and a ready livelihood to an infinity of handicrafts-men; and that it bore all the appearance of an imperial camp: now how fallen! his capital looks like a deserted village, with here and there some wretched, famished, inhabitants; and if any men in good plight appear any where in some houses in repair, rest assured that they are no others than a few Bacfariah soldiers and officers; a set of men from Bodjep8r and Bacfar, who, sometime before this revolution had taken place, thought themselves very happy to obtain two or three rupees per month; but if they be not Bacfariahs, then rest assured that they must be either palace chairmen and servants, or elephant drivers.

“ O take warning ye, that are endowed with eyes.”

To return to our narrative, the English captains, after having received their instructions, departed at the head of three or four battalions of Talingas; and they approached Mahb8b-aly-Qhan's army, as if intending to go forwards. Being arrived close, they sent him a message, informing him that they would be glad to pay him a visit. Mahb8b did not object

The English
lend their assist-
ance.

ject, and the visit was returned. I know not how the English managed to get into the town, for Mahb8b resided in it, although his army and artillery were encamped without. Three or four days after, the English having at the latter part of the night ranged their men and cannon as for an immediate engagement, were a little before day-break close upon Mahb8b's camp, where people proved either fast asleep, or gone out of camp, for their necessities; a few only excepted, that served, as sentries, a word which amongst the English, signifies watchmen. These, in compliance with their rules challenged them, and forbade their coming nearer. The English troops, not regarding the order, marched up, when some English officers advanced within the camp, and said that they wanted to go forwards, and that there was no other road than through this camp. The others answered that they must take another road. The English officers returned, and advancing at the head of a body of troops, fired into the camp, where by this time some people were in readiness, but where most of the others being either wounded or slain, the rest fled on all sides, leaving their cannon, arms, and baggage, to the conqueror. Mahb8b-aly-Qhan, now finding how matters went, and that there remained no other party for him but that of submission, availed himself of the treaty that had intervened between the English officers and himself; and taking his leave, of them, he assembled his baggage and friends, and repaired to court, where Affef-ed-dö8lah, who wanted him just in that condition, shewed him much kindness, and gave him a pension.

THERE was then in those quarters another Eunuch of rank and station; it was Letafet-ali-Qhan, who went by the name of the C8midan (58), and in fact commanded a whole brigade of three or four battalions. This man, hearing how the others had been used, wanted to save his life and to secure himself; and as he knew that Shudja-ed-dö8lah was by treaty obliged to keep a body of troops at the Emperor's court; and he heard that

(58) Commandant.

a person was wanted for such a service; he offered himself, thinking it lucky enough to emerge at such a rate; putting therefore in play certain powerful resorts which he knew, and distributing his money properly, he obtained that office; and departing at the head of his troops, he arrived at court, where he paid his respects to the Emperor: After which he repaired to Nedjef-Qhan's, to whom he found means to render himself so agreeable, as well as to his principal commanders, that to this day he lives in plenty and dignity. It was at this time also, that the two brothers of M8qhtar-eddö8lah, who were too incapable to do any thing for themselves, were arrested and confined; their property and furniture, as well as that of their late brother, was seized and confiscated. But their misfortune did not end there; they were, as well as some of his friends and servants, exposed for a length of time to a variety of hardships, until it being found that nothing was to be had from them, they were set at liberty: and what is singular, a djaghir of a lac of rupees a year was settled on M8qhtar-edö8lah's son, his daughter, and his consort, for their subsistence (59); and it was by managing that estate for them that those two wretched men found means to support themselves. They were yet under confinement, when I, the poor man, arrived at Lucnow, where I found that Affef-eddö8lah, with all his court, and Mr. Djan Brishtow, with all the English grandees and commanders, had taken up their final residence; the whole court, as well as the whole army, was there; and there remained no person of consequence at Feiz-abad but two princesses: the one was the Navvab Begum, daughter of Saadet-Qhan, consort to Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan, and mother to Shudjah-eddö8lah; the other was Bhö8-Begum (60), consort to that prince, and daughter to the famous Mahmed-Issaac-Qhan: these two virtuous princesses, displeased with Affef-eddö8lah's conduct and

(59) As the author, who had been inquisitive and circumstantial enough in other matters, is intirely silent as to this *Hors-d'Œuvre*, which is utterly dissonant from what has followed or preceded; one is inclined to believe that this pension of a lac of rupees, which so unexpectedly pops upon us, must have been in consequence of an injunction from the supreme council of Calcutta, which then remembered the gift of the province of Banares.

(60) This name signifies nothing else but the *Princess's daughter-in-law*, as the other signifies the *reigning Princess*.

way of life, and attached to a city and palace that had been built under their eyes and for their residence, by those three successive princes, would not part with their habitations, but remained where they were.

(61) LET it not pass unnoticed that Shah-Djehan-abad was the native place of me, the poor man, as well as that of my father and mother, and of all my paternal and maternal ancestors. The former descended from the posterity of Hassen (62), by a branch sprung from Hibrahim, one of those who received the surname of Tebateba, and who shone amongst the most illustrious of that holy race. He quitted the illuminated city of Medina, and came and took up his residence at the sepulchre of that glorious martyr Aly, the Rezevian, (upon whom may honour and grace rest for ever!). His descendants resided for a long series of ages upon that holy spot (63), watched by angels; when one of them repaired to Hindostan, where he took up his abode, first in Dehli, and then in Shah-Djehan-abad. The maternal ancestors of this the humblest of men, were Seyds, of the M8ssevian branch, descended from that illustrious stock, Seyd-Ahmed, son to M8ssa, grandson to Djaaser (upon all whom be peace for ever!) who is so renowned in Shiraz, the capital of Pars (64), under the appellation of Shah-Chiragh (65), and

(61) This change of subject which might have been introduced to what preceeds by an easy transition, has been left as it was, to give the reader a specimen of the desultory and incoherent style in which are written all histories in Asia.

(62) The prophet gave his daughter Fatema to Aly his cousin, who had from her Hassen, who died poisoned at Medina; and Hossein, the Persian idol, who was slain, or who died with thirst in the battle of Kerbelah, near Bagdad. It is from these two brothers that descend or pretend to descend, the thousands and ten thousands that style themselves in India and Persia, Hasseni-Seyds and Hosseini-Seyds.

(63) Toofs is the name of that glorious spot or city, a name little known but in books, the word *Meshhed* or *Martyr's sepulchre*, having taken it's place universally.

(64) That part of Iran called Pars, alias Persis, in Grek books; nor is the reader to lose sight of the word *Parfa*, or *Perfa*, or *Persian*, which the Greeks, through ignorance of its meaning, gave to the whole nation, as a national name, whereas it was only an epithet which the Iranians gave themselves in opposition to the Greeks, whom they called Idolators, and to the Arabians, whom they styled Astrotators: the word *Parfa* signifying only, *Pure, serving god, faithful*: just as the Ottomans to this day call their Empire, *the faithful country*, and their nation, *the nation of faithfuls*. *Saltanet Islamiab, Millet Islamiab.*

(65) We are much obliged to the author for his informing us who this Shah-chiragh or Saint Lamp can be; a Saint, held in so high veneration in India, that always a prayer is addressed to him (but not to God) whenever a Lamp

and where his tomb is extremely resorted to from all parts, by persons of all nations; numbers of whom daily have their prayers and supplications accepted, and that acceptance signified by miracles stupendous; and innumerable are those prodigies that have ever been, and are to this day, performed under their eyes. Nor is there any thing more notorious all over the world, than that torrent of light that is endlessly pouring from his glorious portico. One of his posterity came to settle in Hindostan, from whom was descended Seyd-Zin-el-abdin, my maternal grandfather, who was son to Aly-verdy-Qhan's aunt. At his death his mother undertook to put Seyd-Zin-el-abdin's orders into execution, which were to marry, as soon as possible, her daughter, who was mother to the poor man; and this being performed, she retired to her house, where she lived seven years, upon the savings which her husband had made in Azm-Shah's service, before he had so unfortunately quitted it. I came into the world about this time, being the year 1140, at Shah-Djehan-abad, and was followed two years after by my brother, Seyd-aaly-Naky-Qhan. I was five years old, and my brother was three, when my grandmother, having sold her house at Shah-Djehan-abad, quitted that city, and taking with her both her two daughters, and

Lamp is lighted in the evening in a house; nevertheless, one is strongly inclined to believe that here, as in many other occurrences, two distinct worships have been blended into one: that of St. Lamp, with that of the real Lamp, called holy, out of respect. For amongst the many similarities one daily discovers between the Religion of the Antient Persians, and that of the modern Indians, a high veneration for the Sun is one, as well as for its two substitutes, fire and a lamp; in this last article, Musulmen and Gentoos equally agree, to wit, in the prayer to the lamp, and in welcoming it in a room with a respectful gait of the body. Those that make so much noise about a few miracles performed in an ignoble corner of the world, and recorded, if at all, by two or three ignoble men long ago dead and buried, will do well to consider how they are to manage against thousands and ten thousands of living men of all ages, habilities, and opinions, and even sects, who all agree in recording the miracles they have seen last year, in such large populous capitals as Shiraz and Mesh-hed: Miracles for the sake of which they are ready, if necessary, to cut the throats of every Englishman, and to be slaughtered themselves into the bargain. Persians are as willing to suffer martyrdom for the light of the Saint Portico, as are Greeks for the light, of the Saint Sepulchre. Nay the latter sometimes actually suffer it; and whilst we were in Mecca in 1770, we were informed by numbers of persons, that two Greeks coming red-hot out of the holy sepulchre with the celestial fire in their hands, were rallied by two soldiers; when these men, at all times so submissive and crouching, but now become enthused, having answered by the most insulting language against the Musulman Law and against the Prophet, became guilty of a capital crime. Life was offered them by the governor, if they would atone for their offense, by becoming profelytes; and this having been constantly refused by both for three days together, they were both sent to execution, to the great regret of the judge, who related this affair himself, and said that he had to no purpose advised them to counterfeit themselves insane, or to say that they were drunk when they had quarelled with the soldiers.

her two sons-in-law, as well as her whole family, she repaired to M8rshedabad, in Bengal; where Aaly-verdy-Qhan was then, in Shudjah-Qhan, the Nazem's service.; and where she recommended to her nephew the families of her two daughters. Fortune commencing to favour our family, Aly-verdy Qhan was in a few days after appointed governor-general of Azim-abad, whither my father followed him, where he settled, and where our family has to this day, that is to the year 1195, lived in affluence, dignity, and splendor; for the houses we had bought, and the lands we had acquired by purchase, gift, or otherwise, during Aly-verdy-Qhan's administration, and by his favor, are to this day in our possession, thank God! Unluckily I happened, in the year 1188, to stand security for a zemindar, who had these many years the highest obligations to me, and from whom I was very far from expecting such a return, and so much perfidy; and being unexpectedly called upon by government to pay sixty thousand rupees in his stead, fain I was to comply with my obligation, and to sell my jewels and plate, to the amount of thirty-one thousand rupees; making up the balance by borrowing it from a banker: and in this manner I got out of the hands of some English, and especially of the M8tfuddies and revenue-officers, who seemed but to wait for a signal to come to hostilities with me. I was obliged to put into the banker's hands, as a security, the Altumgah of land which I possessed, and to look out for a new livelihood: nor was this to be had any where, after a very troublesome enquiry. At last it pleased fortune to raise up, for our benefit, General Goddard, a man of a merit so notorious as to need no praise, and of so much benevolence to me, the poor man, and indeed to all Indians in general, that hardly such another character can be found among the English. He happened to be appointed governor of Chennar-gur, and to make some stay at Azim-abad. As I was an old acquaintance of his, I went to see him, and he had the goodness to enquire after my circumstances, and to hear, with apparent concern, the catastrophe that had undone my family. "*I am sorry to hear all that,*" said he, "*but as I see no employment for you here, you had better come with me; and*"

" we

"*we shall live upon what we can get.*" I accepted the proposal, looking upon it to be one of the secret resources which had been kept in store by Providence for me; and in a few days I got myself ready, and followed him to Chennar. It was soon found out that the post in question was no more what it had been in point of emolument, and did not defray the expences incident to his station; but as it afforded his commiseration a proper field, he committed to my care whatever concerned the revenue matters of that town. Not satisfied with that, he appointed for my lodgings a house that had been fitted up for himself, and sent his own boats, amongst which was his own budgerow, (a vessel comparable to a house, for both spaciousness and commodity) to fetch my family and consort. When they arrived, he gave them a pension of three hundred rupees per month, and commanded his butler to furnish me with as many wax-candles as I should call for. After supplying me in this manner with every thing necessary to a beggar, he used to receive my visits with the utmost distinction, as of an equal. I have already observed that his income at Chennar was much below his expenditure: so that hearing at that time that Affef eddollah, dissatisfied with his old troops, had dismissed them all, and wanted to raise and discipline new ones, at the head of which he wished to place some English Colonel; he conceived that such an employment would better suit his temper than the stationary life he led at Chennar; and that it would prove likewise more profitable to both himself and me. But as he had no acquaintance with Mr. Djan Brishtow, and he did not think proper to make such a request in his own name, he asked my opinion about the matter. I proposed that he should give me a letter of recommendation to another Englishman, a friend of Mr. Brishtow, to whom by that means I would find a ready introduction, with an opportunity of founding the ford without compromising his name. This he approved; and giving me the intended letter, he wished me a good journey. I left at Chennar my family, consort, children, and dependants; and with a few attendants only, I set out for Feizabad and Lucnow. As the city of

Djonp8r

Djonp8r was in my way, on my arrival there, I heard that it had become the residence of the venerable and illustrious, our lord and teacher Sëyd-Mah-med-Askery, (whose spirit may God Almighty keep for ever refreshed!) a noble personage renowned for learning and sanctity; and of whom I had heard so much at Chennar by his zealous disciple Sëyd-Moluvy-Zafer-aaly, (whom God may continue to illumine in the other world as he did in this!) that I sent to desire leave to pay him a respectful visit. Being admitted, I spent two whole hours in his company; and having heard from his own mouth a conversation which seemed a compendium of all his excellencies, I departed glad to my heart, and fully satisfied that fame in her encomiums had fallen short of what I had seen with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears; and to this day, I remember that illustrious personage with so much respect, that I think it proper to suspend the relation of my own voyage, in order to afford the reader a glimpse into the many excellencies of that illustrious character.

He was of a family of Sëyds that ranked these many ages with the principal and most respected ones of the city of Djonp8r.

“ This Seyd of virtuous disposition

“ Had wrote a book of practical morality;

“ All the rules of which he did extract from his own practice,

“ Very different in that from those who write of morality and lead a sinful life.

“ His dialectik was such, that it seemed to flow from the fountain of science
itself,

“ His advices and counsels were so many remedies against sickness and sorrow:

“ His beams emitted, in every direction, torrents of light;

“ And his very nod or other sign seemed to teem with some secret.”

ALTHOUGH he was an assemblage of all the arts and sciences, he spoke with so much modesty, that whilst every one was retiring from his company with some kind of benefit in his own way, he was praising him as a man of a rare deportment. He lived contented upon a small income, without intending or expecting any thing more. But although he had not
learned

learned the sciences in the order they are taught, nor in the manner usual amongst students, he had found means to supply by the keenness of intelligence and the extent of perspicuity all that might have been wanted from explanation in the knowledge of words, and in the elucidation of sense; by the force of his own genius, he had made himself a repository of all the sciences practical and intellectual; insomuch that no difficulty in the word, no obscurity in the sense, could stop or embarrass him. No wonder then if his house was resorted to by all the learned persons of that city and neighbourhood, and by numbers who perpetually travelled thither from far and near, being either learned themselves, or desirous of learning and knowledge.

VERSES FROM HAFYZ.

“ My beauteous one, who has never been in a school, or can write a single letter,
 “ Has, with the motion of his features, told me more than a hundred professors would
 “ explain.”

THE natural turn of his genius was modesty; so little inclined was he to depreciate the merit due to others, that he was studious to depress and conceal his own.

VERSES FROM HAFYZ.

“ I admire that character under the blue canopy of heaven,
 “ Which can still remain free, whatever its influence may be.”
 “ He gave his time to reading lectures, which is the noblest of all oc-
 “ cupations. The noblest and most pleasing of all, being to bring to light
 “ the treasures of hidden knowledge; and in this he had no fordid view:
 “ his intention being only to obey his master's injunctions.”

VERSES FROM SHEH BEHAHI.

“ A moral sentence, pronounced in a place of debauch,
 “ Has the full effect of incense burned—against bad air and a malignant eye;
 “ That virtuous man's manner was not like that of the puffed ones of this age.
 “ Amongst so many beauteous ones, I am in love with thy particular air,
 “ I am mad with it; else, there is plenty of beauty elsewhere.

“ To

“ To make a parade of one’s learning, he thought to be a very vile action,
 “ And thought that an excellence that produces only pride and vanity amounts to a
 “ satire upon the owner.”

VERSES FROM EURFI.

“ To forget the virtuous actions of a worthy man,
 “ And to keep a register of his blemishes and vices,
 “ Is all that can be expected from self-applause and hypocrisy.”

Whenever any one introduced in his presence a discourse in dispraise of a man’s character, either directly or indirectly, he had too much good manners to stop him or to reprimand him, but would adroitly turn the discourse to some other object, without affording the speaker any subject of offense.

VERSES FROM QHACANI.

“ Spreading as grateful a scent in his conversation as a pod of China musk (66),
 “ But as solidly full of science as an Indian nutmeg is of aromatic matter.”

He recounted, himself, the following story, which does him a great deal of honour:

I HAVE no objection, said he, to the reputation and high character of Sheh-Sadr-Djehan, alias-Mia-Angn8, who is deservedly acknowledged for one of the ablest and most learned professors of the age, and had a particular talent in polemic writing; but who having in time acquired a turn of mind for dispute, had become an enthusiast, and seemed only to look out for an adversary. I had, said he, a great deal of regard for him; and he on his side seemed fonder of my society, than of that of any other. Being one day in his house, I amused myself with perusing some parts of Mir-Huffein’s book (on whom may mercy repose for ever!) and as Mia-Angn8 knew of my being a Shya, he stopped my reading, and said: come, let us sit down together, and examine which of the two sects is the right one, the Shyas, or the Sunnies. But as he was superior to me, not only in knowledge and learning, but also in years, I answered, with much respect and deference,

(66) Those who have not seen a pod of musk, will be glad to hear that although ever so replenished, which few are, it is full of inequalities that deceive empty parts.

that it did not become me to dispute with a person in every respect my superior; and that I was not likely to come off with honor in so unequal a contest. For all reply he repeated his request, and I repeated my excuse; but he continued to intreat me so earnestly, that for fear of giving offense, I was obliged to seem to enter the lists; and after having added, that it little became me to stand a dispute against such a master as he, unless it might be in submission to his own pleasure, I observed, that to try the question by the revealed word of God itself, in the Coran, and by the sayings of the Prince of Envoys, was not without difficulties; as the first was full of many obscure passages, whilst the latter might be accused of sophistification; but that I believed the matter in dispute might be reduced at once to this plain question: "*Whether the most excellent of the sons of men, after the prophet himself, was Ab8-Bekr, son to Ab8-Cobasa, or Aly, son to Ab8-Taleb (67)?*" That this being once determined, the matter would come to a conclusion of itself; and that it depended upon him to determine it, independently of the word of God, and of the sayings of his Prophet. Now as there is in the world such a variety of matters that indicate the qualities, the attributes, and the workmanship of God, I ask where and how we are to find out which of these branches of knowledge is the highest and the noblest? At these words, he paused a little, and answered, that the noblest and highest of them was the knowledge of God. It is so indeed, replied I, and no man in his senses will deny it. Now amongst these various branches of the knowledge of God, which is the noblest and highest? here he paused again, and answered, the knowledge of the attributes of God. Now, replied I, there are extant several messages, speeches, sentences of Aly's, about the unity and the other sublime qualities of God: Do you know any of Ab8-Bekr's? I should be glad to hear them. Here he fetched a deep sob, and answered, "*That to this day he had been sunk in ignorance and darkness, and had not*

(67) Ab8 Bekr was the protector of Mahomet; and also a relation of his, and he became his first successor: Aali was his cousin, and he became his fourth successor; but he had been no more than the best soldier in the Prophet's army.

"been aware of the truth; and I thank God, added he, that I have got
 "it at last by being in your company: it is you that have converted me."

But all conversion comes from God. That illustrious Sëyd at that moment was heard to drop some ænygmatical verses about Aaly, which is worth our while to repeat: here they are:

"On looking at the innermost recesses of my heart,

"I have found Aaly himself, and nothing but Aaly.

"The love of him is consuming my heart, and it says it is no pain;

"I sink my head in his bosom, and my heart says it is no great proof of love:

"The rose besprinkled with the dew is inferior to the beauty of his face,

"And the sweat that drops from it is a pure refreshing water that cools my
 "visage.

THIS venerable man died at the age of seventy, in the year 1195 of the hedjra; and he repaired from this fragile world to the mansions of eternity: the words, *May God keep cool the place of his repose!* (68) contain his chronogram. May God Almighty join him to the assembly of his pious ancestors, upon whom all be greeting and grace!

To return to my voyage, being arrived at Lucnow, I was introduced to Mr. Djahn Brishtow, to whom I explained the subject of my voyage, informing him at last of General Goddard's intention: he gave his consent; and after having obtained that of the Navvab-Affef-eddo8lah, he wrote to the council on the subject. After sometime the consent of the council came likewise, and he sent for me to inform me of it. Happy to find how my journey had been successful, I put an end to it, and quitted Lucnow, previously informing the General of the success of my negotiation. But he had been already fully informed, having received the orders of the supreme council thereon; and he had set out immediately

(68) This is an Arabic apprecation, often inscribed upon tomb-stones, and often in the mouth of those that visit burying grounds.

by the post for Lucnow, leaving budgerows, boats, and harcarahs, and his own moonshy, or Persian secretary, with orders to bring up my comfort and family from Chennar-ghur: so great was his kindness for me, and so great his solicitude for whatever concerned my well-being. He had likewise the attention to send me notice of his departure, and of the orders he had left. This letter he entrusted to a sensible messenger of his, who had orders to look out for me on the road, and to give me the letter wherever he could get of my tidings. The letter came to hand, when I was already arrived at Djonp8r. Fain I was then to return to Lucnow, and to embark with my family, which I also found there; and I remained at Lucnow ten months more, my voyage having lasted in all fourteen months, in which time that generous man had assisted me with sums to the amount of ten thousand rupees. I lived happy with him; and the time was come for his being employed, when my scheme, always dependent on his own, came to be overset entirely. Mr. Djan Brishtow was recalled, and Mr. Middleton was sent to Affef-eddoulah's Court in his stead; and this gentleman, with whom the General had connections, and from whose friendship and concurrence he expected every thing, came to declare himself against the scheme he had set up: a disunion succeeded, and a rivetted coldness took place between the two friends; and myself being now become sensible of the consequence of such a mutual dissatisfaction, I took my leave and returned to Azimabad.

I WAS yet at Lucnow, when it was thought necessary to give a successor to the murdered minister. No person in that multitude of courtiers and grandees having been found capable of such an office, it was thought proper to recur to Iredj-Qhan, whom we have mentioned to have retreated to Dehli after Shudjah eddö8lah's death, on pretence of renewing the treaties with Shah-Aalem and Mirza-Nedjef-Qhan. Affef-eddö8lah, being in want of his assistance, wrote him a letter full of expressions of esteem and

The Author resumes his narrative of public events.

Iredj-Qhan
Prime Minister
of Lucnow.

and kindness, requesting his immediate attendance Iredj-Qhan, who made no great account of his master's protection, on which he reposed very little confidence, wrote to Djan Brishtow, who was the acting minister in Affef-eddoulah's dominions, and he informed him, that amongst several other conditions, which he pointed out, he wanted a safe conduct for his person, honor, and fortune; a safe conduct subscribed by himself, and without which he would not move from the place in which he actually was. This request was no sooner made, than it was complied with; and he arrived at Lucnow, where having been invested with all the office and all the authority of prime minister, he was immediately complimented with a rich qhylaar, a military music, a fringed paleky, a lofty elephant, and all the other insignia of authority and command. As he harboured a secret resentment against M8qhtar-eddö8lah, and several persons of his family, he commenced the exercise of his office, by giving a severe reprimand to the two brothers of the deceased, and by ordering them into a rigorous confinement, where they were kept for a length of time, and from whence they were not released until after he had wrung from them by dint of violence and ill-usage every thing which could be extorted. This rigorous usage did not fail to concern my natural sensibility: I thought it incumbent upon me to pay some regard to the title of Sëyd, which they bore in common with me; (although I am but the last of mankind;) and to shew some respect for certain connections which had subsisted between the deceased and my house; for we were both descended from families of the Tebatebah branches, and I therefore exerted my little influence in behalf of the two afflicted brothers; but all to no purpose. The minister's power however proved of short duration; and some time after, a djaghir of one lac of rupees was settled on the deceased's son, consort, and daughter; the management of which estate afforded likewise a subsistence to the two brothers: It afforded them also the opportunity of coming some time to court, and paying their respects to Affef-eddö8lah and his ministers; but otherwise they lived in retirement and silence.

silence. And this little incident brings to our recollection a nephew of these persecuted brothers, who after having once cut a great figure in the deceased's time, had in the sequel come to Azim-abad, where he had a lease of the Pergunnahs or districts of Sanda and Beliah: he was a great friend of mine, and we were greatly attached to each other; this was Mahmed-Ally-Qhan. Finding me unexpectedly at Lucnow, he used to visit me as often as he could, and always took care to make long visits. He was then exerting himself to obtain some preferment; and observing how much I was considered by General Goddard, he wanted to avail himself of my interest, and complained much of the avarice and want of sense of M8qhtar-eddö8lah's two brothers, as well as of the Eunuch that governed the deceased's family; nor did he ascribe his ill-success to any but to them.

AFTER having spoke so much of the ministers of the court of Lucnow, I must say something more of the private life of its Prince; and must acknowledge that although I had frequent opportunities of conversing with Affeddö8lah, and examining his behaviour, he did not appear destitute of sense; and this after all is nothing but what has been said in times of yore by the famous Teacher (69), (on whom may grace and mercy repose for ever!) in his renowned Mesnevi:

"The hawk's keen-sight and his strength of pinion, as well as the genius of man,
Are all so many gracious gifts of the Almighty artist upon his own work."

For altho' he seemed not destitute of sense, yet his company was composed of the scum of mankind, where, however, one might discover here and there

(69) This famous teacher is Mo8lana Djelaleddin, a Turk of Natolia, who wrote, in elegant Persian verses, a treatise of Ethics, known under the title of Mesnevi-Romi, or the Roman or Turkish mesnevi; a book held in the highest esteem all over the East, where it is in general sung in companies, or read in a psalmodying manner. The translator has an excellent portrait of this elegant writer, which must have been copied from an original painted after the life, or from an excellent copy, as no Indian painter can be supposed to know any thing of the dress worn in those days by the Turks (400 years ago) nor of the particular stile of trimming their beards, nor of the particular turban of a Turkish man of the law: still less of the appearance which a man cuts when pinched with cold, and wrapped in furs. There are two or three Mesnevis more by other hands, but by no means in so high estimation.

a man of birth as well as a vile contemptible wretch. He seemed intent only on pastimes, amusements, dances, music, and pleasures; in which sports he spent his time without the least regard to decency or any sense of shame. As to those infamous secret practices to which he had the means to addict himself without either scruple or remorse, and with such a feminine ardor, he managed so that there appeared no trace of them either in his discourses or in his public behaviour; inasmuch that he might have been taken for a man quite stranger to that way of life. It was remarked that although he sometimes would throw his handkerchief to the stoutest of his musqueteers or to the brawniest of his archers, yet such digressions affected but little the whole tenor of his life; nor would an unacquainted man have taken him to be that strange being, who delighted in making himself a porter to those Talingas of his, who by their continual attendance on his person, were called his Orderlies. Every morning, as far as twelve o'clock, was spent in going from garden to garden, and from seat to seat, where he amused himself in looking at his elephants; and every third day he made them fight together: this pastime, and that of retiring in cool shady places with his Orderlies, and some other people of the same stamp, all people skilled in those practices so delicious to him, engrossed his whole soul. But there was another article in which he seemed to take a pleasure, and this was promoting marriages. Salar-Djung his uncle had promised one of his daughters to M8qhtar-eddö8lah for his son; but the match had been broke off by the latter's disgrace and death. Affef-eddö8lah being informed of it, prevailed by dint of intreaties on the bride's father to go on with the match; and not content with that, he undertook to furnish the whole expence of the ceremony, which he accordingly did, and with a deal of pomp and magnificence. His disposition was so inclined to such scenes, that whenever he heard of any match being upon the carpet, he sent his compliments to the parents, undertook to perform the part of one, and appointed one of his courtiers to perform the part of the other; nor would he give over his attendance, until the match was brought to a full

full conclusion. He once undertook the marriage of Caim-Qhan, superintendant of his elephants, and I, the poor man, happening to be present, received his highness's commands to attend personally, and to perform my part.

We have observed how addicted he was to pleasures which none but women could have thought of: he had also all the fickleness of a woman. Amongst the slave-boys bred in Shudjah-eddö8lah's house, there was one called Imam-baqsh, a man very quarrelsome and of the worst morals and behaviour in the world. Whilst Affef-eddö8lah was yet a youth, this fellow had found means to elope to him, and to become one of his favorites, in that particular style to which he was a slave; but the father informed of his retreat and of the perpetual insolencies and excesses the upstart committed on account of the favor he enjoyed, he ordered him to be confined in irons; in which to all appearance he would have remained, had not some principal commanders supplicated his highness to dismiss and banish him: a request which was granted. The man fled to Tanda, where he kept himself concealed, and from whence he found means to keep a correspondence with his young master; who, on his father's demise, made haste to send him letters of recall. To the amazement of all, he introduced him into high offices; and as by the death of M8qhtar-eddö8lah, and the resignation of Mahb8b-Qhan, there were several bodies of Talingas left without commanders, and which amounted to about thirty or forty thousand men, besides four or five thousand horses, he gave him the command of that whole army. So thoughtless a promotion could not but raise the indignation and discontent of every officer in the army, as well as the jealousy of every man in his dominions. This man by these means was raised to a degree of power, to which the ambition of no commander of the army and no grandee of the court had yet aspired. I remember to have been several times in his company, and to have had some conversation with him; and I can protest that I never saw any thing so vile and so vicious; nothing so destitute of all shame

A worthless
slave-boy made
generallissimo.

shame, either in words or actions. He seemed to be fitted for the station of a menial servant at two rupees per month, and this, too, on condition that he should mend his vicious way of life.

“ He was very dear even at that price; for he was worth nothing at all, to tell you
“ the truth.”

In fact he was richly deserving to keep a shop of Bang (70). And yet this man's favor and power rose to such a height, that no less a man than Hassen-Reza-Qhan, the minister, was afraid of his influence, and strove to be upon good terms with him. Whilst he was in the middle of so much power and grandeur, Affef-eddö8lah's heart changed at once with respect to him; and a few days after my departure from Lucnow, he became so sick of his company and person, that he ordered him to be banished his dominions, half naked, and on foot; forbidding any one to give him clothes or any carriage whatsoever. Guards were sent to his lodgings, and his whole property was confiscated. From that day no tidings were ever heard of him.

AFTER all these confiscations it was strange enough to see Affef-eddöulah betray the utmost aversion against parting with any of his money, unless it was to pay the pensions due to his Orderlies. Whenever any one besides made bold to ask his pay or his arrears from him, he from that moment became his enemy; nor could he bear to hear of such a demand; and he was ever after ready to shed his blood. Some time before my arrival at Lucnow, several officers and others had gone in a body, and had asked and received their arrears: many of these had the wisdom to disappear immediately; but some others having ventured to tarry, were all seized sometime after, and all blown at a gun: and this execution

(70) A shop of Bang may be kept with a capital of no more than two shillings, or one rupee. It is only some mats, stretched under some tree, where the Bangeras of the town, that is, the vilest of mankind, assemble to drink Bang. This is a potion made of the Tommities of dried melleherp, which has a most ugly green appearance, and possesses such intoxicating charms, that there is no parting any more with it, when a man has once used it for a couple of weeks. But in two years time it always reduces a man to a skeleton, and stupifies his mind totally.

happened

happened during my stay in that city. It frightened all the world; so that a few days after the Ghossain fakyr, a commander of character and importance, having spied a favorable moment, quitted the camp; and with his arms and baggage marched across the country, and reached Nedjef-Qhan's army, with whom he took service; and in the same manner all the descendants and relations of Saadet-Qhan and Ab8l-Mans8r-Qhan, found means one after another to quit Lucnow and to repair to Nedjef-Qhan's camp.

WE have mentioned that Iredj-Qhan had been sent for and entrusted with the whole management of Affef-eddö8lah's affairs as his prime minister. This man shewed himself at once capable of his office; he commenced bringing the finances into order; and little by little, both the high and the low accustomed themselves to look up to him as to their center. In a conference with Djan Brishtow, that omnipotent man, he asked him, "*What business he could possibly have with the government, and with the affairs of those countries? A sum of money is yearly due to you by treaty for the maintainance of your brigade: do receive that money from me; but meddle no more with any thing. Keep yourself on the footing on which you, as agent from the company, have been placed, by the treaty subsisting between your government and Shudjab-ed-dö8lah's family; but if you go one step further, I inform you that your pretensions shall be imparted to the supreme council, and that your conduct in these countries shall undergo a discussion there between you and me.*" Djan-Brishtow, little accustomed to such a style, repented his having been so earnest in sending for such a man; and he was examining how he ought to manage with him, when the Minister fell into a bad habit of body: his natural heat by degrees forsook him; and his distemper turned out to be a confirmed dropsy: so that after lingering a month and some days, he departed this life. After his death, both Affef-eddö8lah and Mr. Djan Brishtow were anxious to appoint a fit man to such an office,

Iredj-Qhan is sent for, and made prime minister.

The prime minister dies.

and they both turned their eyes on Hassen-Reza-Qhan. This nobleman had once been superintendant of Shudja-eddö8lah's kitchen office, and on that account he was a little known to Affef-eddö8lah; insomuch that for some time, he was preferred to all others for carrying messages to Mr. Djan Brishtow: being therefore admitted to secret conferences with both parties, he had acquired some credit; and both thought of conferring the office of Naïb or deputy upon him. But he was so slothful and indolent; so averse from entering into conversation with the heads of office and other men of business (without which, however, there is no governing); so addicted to his pleasures and repose; and in imitation of his master, so averse from all kinds of business, that he declined himself that high office. The by-standers themselves, who knew his genius to the bottom, could not understand why they persecuted the poor man, to make him a minister at any rate, and to load him with an office of which he was utterly incapable. God knows for what reasons, Mr. Djan Brishtow had resolved, not only on keeping this poor man in office against his own will, as a deputy to a prime minister invisible, but also on appointing another deputy to him for the purpose of executing the penible part of the office. This able man was found out for him by his friend and favourite, Ismail-Beg, a Persian, (71), who was one of the shrewdest, most artful, and most

Is succeeded
by Hassen-Reza-
Qhan, a very in-
dolent man.

(71) Our Author who has so inadvertently made himself liable to much censure by the double part he has in his own narrative acted in many places, and especially at the Siege of Patna, by Shah-Aalem, speaks with great partiality against some men of whom he cannot have had but a transient view; these men are three in number: We know them personally these fifteen or twenty years, and suppose that they are all three our friends, but two of them are certainly so. Nevertheless, so different is our opinion from his, that some years ago we mentioned them as the only men of genius and universal abilities who had ever been seen in Bengal under a turban. These were, Mirza-Cazem-Qhan, the friend of Lord Clive; Aga Ismail-Shoraw (or Saltpetre) the man spoken of here, and Seyd Mahmed-Qhan, now at Benares.* These three men might by an attentive government, be put to any use: they would prove shrewd negotiators, able governors, great accountants, good military commanders, and counsellors universally informed. Every one of them has come in distress in India, and has been the artisan of his own fortune: and were a thorough disaster to befall them again, they would make no difficulty to trudge on foot, to carry their own horses, to sew their own clothes, to mend their own saddles, and to cook their own victuals. Aga-Ismael-Shoraw in particular, is a sincere man, and a steadfast zealous friend: he once came to us at Lucnow, where he mentioned to have just seen the lady of an Englishman, which had taken a liking to the Hindostany dress, and was just wearing it that morning; upon which we put several questions to him about the style of her dress and jewels, all which he answered; and we had a great deal of jocular talk on that subject,

and

* In 1789 at Calcutta.

most time serving men of his age: he had already been long in employment amongst the English, having been entrusted with the post-office, and with the business of stationing spies, and procuring weekly intelligence from Dehli: offices of trust conferred upon him so early as the times when Shah-aalem and the English had their residence at Ilahabad. This Ismail-Beg had from long hand connections with Haider-Beg-Qhan, a Cab8lian, whom he introduced to Mr. Djan Brishtow, after having entered into a secret treaty with him by which he secured some pecuniary advantages to himself. The Cab8lian, who was an intriguing man, and one accustomed to sow, that great ones might reap, had been introduced to Mr. Djan Brishtow so early as the first appearance of Iredj-Qhan's distemper; and he had been recommended by Ismail-Beg as an able man, fit to execute the penible office of the Naib's Naib, or deputy's deputy. This Haider-beg-Qhan, was as well as his brother Mirza-N8r-Beg, a man versed in revenue matters, having successively rented most of the districts of the Province of A8d from Shudjah-eddö8lah. He was extremely rude and severe in collecting his rents, paid no regard to friendship, was intent on his own profits, and had become nearly infociable. Being greatly in arrears to Shudjah-eddö8lah, that Prince had made him over to his guards, together with his brother; and these having orders to enforce payment, fell upon them both with such a storm of flaps, blows, and kicks, that the elder brother died under the operation; the younger, who was Haider-Beg-Qhan, escaped with life, by making proper applications to that Prince's favourites. Some time after this event, that Prince died; and this man who had been but a few days ago buffeted by the meanest of the guards, and had despaired of his own life, was now by the prevalence of his fortune, called up from that state of dejection, and ordered to assume the collection of full two corores of rupees,

To whom Mr. Brishtow is obliged to give a very active deputy.

Character of that deputy.

and also on the dress of some other ladies; but having, by mere chance, and without any malice at all, asked what stuff her long-drawers were made of, and added some remarks upon the stuff which we should particularly recommend for drawers, the man who had been all along laughing and joking, gave at once a serious cast to his features, and said, drily: *Sir, I never think of the drawers of a friend's consort.* Such a man is that Ismael-Beg-Shoraw.

which

which is in fact to assume the absolute dominion over so much ground. Hassen-Reza-Qhan, who did not like to be prime minister, objected both to his being kept in office himself, and to his being saddled with a deputy; but he was over-ruled by Mr. Djan Brishtow, who determined that he should be invested with the office of Naib, or deputy to Affef-eddö8lah, and that Häider-Beg-Qhan should be deputy to himself, Hassen-Reza-Qhan. Rich Qhylaats were put upon their shoulders, with such a difference in the richness, however, as should discriminate their respective relations; and the same nicety was observed in presenting them with elephants, horses, and sets of jewells. From that day Häider-beg-Qhan was engrossed intirely by the affairs of his department; and Hassen-Reza-Qhan, who had been complimented with a djaghir of one lack of rupees, turned his views intirely towards cool retreats, pastimes voluptuous, and secret pleasures, just as if these verses of Hafyz had been addressed to him personally:

“ Get up boy, and make haste to fill up that glass of wine,

“ Make haste, for life passes away mean while, and the motion of the sphere

“ knows no rest;

He now went less frequently to court, and he intirely addicted himself to a life of ease and voluptuousness; he seemed to be the man of whom the poet had said:

“ Whatever is provided for thee by the decrees of fate will come to thee;

“ Will come to thee, at any rate, whether thou wilt give thy self any motion

“ for it or not?

It was observed on this promotion that every man who came into office, made it a point to propose to his master a reduction in the troops and pensions; and a revolution taking place accordingly in the affairs, some that had lived in opulence came to want water to drink, whilst streams of that element were pouring of themselves at the very doors of some others, who had not so much as dreamed about it. But it happened, that at the very time when Djan Brishtow's scheme was taking place, and establishing it self solidly, his protector at Calcutta, General Clavering, was quitting
this

this world, the book of his existence having been closed and shut up. The governor's party acquired thereby a prevalence; and Mr. Djan Brishtow being recalled, Mr. Middleton was sent to reside in his stead. From this sudden change, General Godard, who then was at Feroh-abad, but who had great connections with the new resident, had conceived great hopes both for himself and for me: the more so, as this gentleman on his arrival at Luchow had inquired for me, from Mr. Djan-Brishtow's assistant, and had informed him of his having a letter from the governor for me, with many recommendations. On this intelligence I waited on that gentleman; he took me into a closet, and putting the governor's letter in my hands, he bid me read it; this I did, and I explained the contents: These he seemed to hear with attention and pleasure, then shewed me a deal of kindness, and requested me to come to see him, and to talk with him in private whenever I should have any thing to impart; and matters went on for some time in a favorable manner: when the same Englishman, who seemed to be his assistant, and in fact was his right hand man, being secretly gained by Haider-beg-Qhan, and fearing likewise a diminution of his own influence, should I ever come into office, gave Mr. Middleton to understand that it was very improper in him to make his confidant of a man who held a correspondence with the governor. This short remark had its full effect; and Mr. Middleton becoming impressed with suspicions on a variety of accounts, at once turned a new leaf with me, and commenced shewing me the utmost neglect. Such a total alteration in his behaviour could not long remain a secret, and concluding that there was nothing to be done for me in those parts, I thought that the only party left was to obtain General Goddard's leave to repair to Azimabad; and this he gave not without much reluctance. Some time after Mr. Middleton turned a new leaf with General Goddard also, who was his old friend; a frozen coldness took place between them: the General lost his appointment, and I was thunderstruck when I saw him again at Azimabad, from whence he proceeded to Calcutta. He had the goodness to desire my attendance in that journey and to take me with him; and for some time

he expected to recover his footing, in which case he intended to make use of my services; when he was himself appointed to serve in the army commanded for the Decan, as we have said in our former volume; so that I returned to Azim-abad. The dominions of Affef-eddölah remain now as they were, still under the apparent management of Hassen-Reza-Qhan, who enjoys the emoluments and honors of the deputyship, in retirement and voluptuousness; but really under the government of Haider-beg-Qhan, his deputy; who undergoes all the fatigue, and assumes all the authority of the collection of the revenue; nor was that minister's influence affected by the recall of that same Mr. Middleton, who on some displeasure, conceived against him by Mr. Barwell, one of the members of the Council, had been dismissed from his office. On the contrary, it received even some accession; for on that antagonist's going home, Mr. Middleton was immediately sent back, together with Mr. Johnson; and now the whole government at Lucknow is in the hands of those two English gentlemen: a state of things which brings naturally to our remembrance the situation of Nedjef-Qhan, their next neighbour.



A TRANSLATION

A TRANSLATION
OF THE
SĒIR MUTAQHERIN,
O R
VIEW OF MODERN TIMES, &c.

CONTENTS OF THE FOURTH SECTION.

NEDJEF-QHAN, become an independent sovereign, makes conquests—Is abandoned by the Afghans, commanded by Zabeta-Qhan; but he beats him in battle, and besieges him in a fortress—Zabeta-Qhan surrenders at discretion.

Abdol Abed-Qhan prime minister at the court of Debli—His schemes and jealousy against Nedjef-Qhan—Is shamefully put to flight by the Sycs, and then seized and confined by Nedjef-Qhan.

The English wage war in Decan against the Marbattas—General Goddard, after many successes, is finally defeated by them; who also defeat Colonel Camac.

Admirable fortitude and character of Governor Hastings—He makes a progress into Hindostan.

The Hollanders dispossessed by the English in Bengal—The cause of the war assigned on the broils which happened between the English and the people of America, alias Yenghi-D8nia.

Account of Yenghi-D8nia—The Americans revolt and beat the English—are assisted by the Francissians, alias French; who are joined by the Espan-yols, alias Spaniards.

The Author quits his subject to launch into the latter part of Aoreng-zib's history—Aoreng-zib's character—His hardness of heart to his father and brothers.

Affecting narrative of prince Dara-Shecob's flight and adventures—The prince betrayed and put to death.

Extreme authority and overbearing pride of the ecclesiasticks, under that reign. Singular sentiments of the Asiaticks, which ought to be written in letters of gold, over all the gates of the princes of Europe.

The Emperor's dislike to all Gentoos.

Singular contrivance, by which some of them escape out of confinement..

Prince Echer, his youngest and most beloved son, revolts—Is abandoned by his troops—Seeks an asylum with Simbha-Dji, the Marbatta emperor—Quits that court, and flies to Muscat in Arabia; the king of which country wants to sell him to his father, but he is rescued by the interposition of the Persian monarch, who receives him most generously.

Capitation tax enforced by Aoreng-zib against the Hindoos—Their singular and respectful way of complaining of it.

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Aoreng-zib attacks the king of Bidjap8r, and also that of Häider-abad.

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The siege of Häider-abad—Several battles about that fortress.

The Imperialists defeated, receive assistance from some elephants in rut.

The Häider-abadian generals propose a combat between twenty of their number and twenty Imperial officers.

The king of Häider-abad flies to the fortress of Golconda, and leaves the city of Häider-abad to be sacked and plundered.

The two Brahmans, his ministers, put to death against his will, by the grandees of the state.

The Author resumes the siege of Häider-abad.

Artful management of Aoreng-zib's—His fanatical conduct ingeniously defended by his envoy Saadet-Qhan.

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Sultan Muäzzem, eldest son of the Emperor, is disgraced for attempting to bring on a pacification between the Emperor and the King—He is imprisoned—Noble answer of the Imperial prince.

The king of Haider-abad deserted by most of his officers—Vigorous sally of the besiegers.

The Emperor debauches almost all the generals of the besieged—Famine in the Imperial camp.

An escalade miscarries.

Amazing quantities of necessaries in Golconda.

Noble and curious letter of the Haider-abadian King, to the Emperor.

Three mines of the besieged have a retrograde effect, and kill an infinity of people.

The Emperor repairs to the counterscarp, and behaves with the utmost intrepidity.

The besieged King forsaken by all, except Abdol Rezac—Admirable character of that general.

Golconda betrayed and surprized.

Amazing exertions of Abdol-Rezac.

Fearless behaviour of the king of Haider-abad—Verses he pronounces extempore.

Singular meeting and conversation between him and the Imperial generals.

Noble proceedings of the Emperor towards Abdol Rezac.

*An historical account of the fortress of Golconda, which serves as a citadel to
Bagnagor, or Haider-abad.*

Immense riches found in it.

Romantic, but historical, account of Ab8l-Hassen, the last king of Haider-abad.



A TRANSLATION

A TRANSLATION
OF THE
S E I R M U T A Q H E R I N,
O R
VIEW OF MODERN TIMES, &c.

SECTION IV.—VOLUME III.

NEDJEF-QHAN, after the conquest of Acber-bad and the fortrefs of Dig, had now become a fovereign Prince: intent only on whatever could eftablifh and increafe his power, his army which he was augmenting inceffantly became fo numerous, that there is hardly mentioning its numbers without feeming to deal in exaggerations. His two favorite commanders alone, that is Nedjef-C8ly-Qhan and Afrafiab-Qhan, were at the head of two corps that could not amount to lefs than ten or twelve thoufand cavalry and as much infantry. It is true they had both been his fave-boys; but it muft be acknowledged that their perfonal prowefs and their military talents were fuch as warranted all that elevation: the former, efpecially, who bears a diftinguifhed character for a headlong courage, and an irrefiftible impetuofity; infomuch that it has been more than once obferved, that leaving all the other Generals behind, he feemed intent upon equalling his mafter himfelf.

Conquefts of
Nedjef - Qhan,
who is become a
fovereign prince

self. Another valorous commander of Nedjef-Qhan's army and as good a foldier as himself, was Mahmed-Beg-Qhan, the Hamadanian, a general who, by the nobility of his race and the frankness of his character, seemed another Nedjef-Qhan: two qualifications in which he was superior to all the commanders of the army, and especially to the two persons just mentioned. There were several other officers of character in that army, most of them being those that had served with honor under Shudjah-eddö8lah, and had fled from his son's capital or from his camp: for instance, the two Ghossäins, who had under their commands a body of six or seven thousand Fakyrs, as brave as themselves. Morteza-Qhan, son to Mustepha-Qhan, that famous general who had cut so great a figure in Bengal, served also in Nedjef-Qhan's army at the head of five thousand men; and one could see in that camp most of Ab8i-Man8r-Qhan's descendants: all men of distinction, who tired with the inattention and vile behaviour of Affef-eddö8lah, had fled from that court, and taken shelter in Nedjef-Qhan's army, where they were promoted to commands, every one according to his merit and abilities. To insure the payment of all these numerous troops, Nedjef-Qhan divided his dominions and conquests into so many parts, the revenues of which were assigned to each commander's management. With such an army, Nedjef-Qhan was always in motion, constantly busy in making conquests upon Radja Dehi-Sing-Seväi, and Radja Dehiradj-Seväi, on one hand; and on the other, upon the Radjp8t Princes of Kedjvaha: he beat these Princes in several engagements, and made himself dreaded far and near, about the outskirts of the provinces of Shah-Djehan-abad and Acber-abad. But although he was so successful in the field, he had enemies at court; and these were Abd8l-Ahed-Qhan, the Cashmirian, prime minister, and all the grantees of that dastardly court, who were all timorous and all cowardly; but who possessed so far the Emperor's ear, that he did just as they bid. All these, unable to bear Nedjef-Qhan's influence and prosperity, were exciting Zabeta-Qhan to a revolt. It was the same Zabeta-Qhan, who after the death of Hafyz-Rahmet and the ruin of his nation, had become the head
of

of it, the Rohilahs and Afghans flocking to him from all parts, impressed with a sense of respect for his illustrious pedigree, and a warm admiration for his personal character. He is the same man who had been requested from Shudja-eddö8lah by Nedjef-Qhan, and the same who had owed the highest obligations to that conqueror's partiality and patronage; but there was too much of the Afghan in him, not to set all those ties at nought on the most distant prospect. In a moment he forgot how highly he was indebted to Nedjef-Qhan; and listening only to the suggestions of Abdol-ahed-Qhan and his confederates, all men as cowardly and as envious as that minister, he parted from his friend and benefactor; and marched off at the head of his national troops, which were considerable.

Is abandoned
by Zabeta-Qhan
and his Afghans.

NEDJEF-QHAN, amazed at his defection, thought his honor concerned in punishing it immediately: the two armies met: a bloody battle ensued, in which the two parties fought with the utmost bravery; and numbers of brave men fell on both sides, after exhibiting feats of valor and prowess: at last the zephyr of divine assistance blowing directly over Nedjef-Qhan's standards, unfurled their folds, and stretched them open on the gale of victory. A vast number of Rohilahs were put to the sword, with a very small loss to the victorious; and Zabeta-Qhan with the remains of his troops, which even now did not amount to less than thirty thousand men, fled to Ghöus-gur, and shut himself up in that fortress. From thence he wrote to the principal rulers amongst the Sycks to request their assistance: he even concluded a treaty with them, by which he subscribed to such articles, and entered into such close connections with those people, that a report spread every where, as if he had forsaken the Musulmanism (1), and made himself a member of their community.

Whilst

(1) The Sycks are Deists in the strictest sense of the word, and of course, perfectly tolerant and harmless; although as soldiers, they are, like the Marhattas, merciless plunderers, and incessant skirmishers. The ceremony of the reception of a Proselyte consists in no more than these two articles: to put on a short dress

Beats Zabeta-
Qhan, and be-
siegues him.

Whilst he was connecting himself by such odious ties with these people, Nedjef-Qhan was advancing upon him: that general, after giving some repose to his victorious troops, besieged him in Ghöus-gur. The Rohilas had fortified an intrenched camp under the walls of the fortress; and now sure of a retreat, they for a whole month together kept Nedjef-Qhan at bay, falling out every day to skirmish, and even coming several times to a general engagement. It is true that they were always beaten, but as true that they always made good their retreat within their intrenchments. By this time, however, their numbers were so thinned, that Zabeta-Qhan thought proper to submit, and to propose terms. He received some officers for hostages, and went to visit Nedjef-Qhan; but the latter having declined the proposals he had brought, the other asked leave to return, which being granted immediately, he returned to his camp: there he assembled his own commanders as well as those of the Sycks that had just come to his assistance, and he informed them of his being resolved to perish rather than to submit. This declaration having been received with applause, and with promises of standing by him with their lives, the next morning, he came out of his camp, preceded by his artillery and a body of men armed with such rockets and such other missiles as remained to him. Nedjef-Qhan on his side, glad to see them coming to a fair engagement, arranged his troops, and taking a body to which he trusted, he pushed before the rest and charged the enemy, himself the foremost. This appearance intimidated the Rohilals, who being valorously charged every where, lost their wonted courage, and were mowed down by thousands; infomuch that this battle became similar to that famous one at Panip8t,

dress, of a blue colour, from head to foot; and to let one's hair grow from head to foot, without ever cutting or clipping or shaving it. One day I got within one of their temples, invited thereto by the tingling of the cymbals: on appearing within the door, an old venerable man bid me leave my slippers, as none could enter, but bare-footed. This admonition I obeyed, and went into a hall covered with carpets, at the northern part of which, there were several cushions covered with a yellow veil, under which, I was told, lay Nanec-Shah's book, who is their legislator. At the southern end of the hall, there were fifteen or twenty men all in blue and with long beards, sitting, some armed and some not. At the eastern side, but very near to it, two old men with a small drum and a pair of cymbals, were singing some maxims of morality out of that Book, and this they did with a deal of enthusiasm and contortion. On getting within the hall, I saluted the company, which returned the salute, and returned it again when I came out.

where

where the Abdalies put an end to the Marhatta power, and destroyed their numerous army. Nedjef-Qhan's soldiers, as much incensed as their master at the perfidy and ingratitude of the Afghans, followed them every where; resolved to make an end of the enemy. The engagement lasted, without interruption, the whole of that day: Nedjef-Qhan killed several men with his own hand, and seemed to contend for the palm of personal prowess with his most forward commanders. This day having put an end to the power of Zabeta-Qhan, as well as to the courage of his new allies, the latter retired to their homes; and Zabeta-Qhan took shelter in the fortresses, with all those who had escaped by favour of the darkness. The next morning he sent to camp an humble message, in which he supplicated Nedjef-Qhan's forgiveness; the latter granted it, but would treat no more, and commanded his attendance. Zabeta-Qhan, having no other party left, put on an humble dress, and presenting himself before Nedjef-Qhan in a supplicating posture, he obtained his pardon. Sending then for his people from the fortresses, and for his family, he lived a long time in the conqueror's army, entirely unnoticed. In the sequel, he found means to betroth one of his daughters to Nedjef-C8ly-Qhan, who had become Nedjef-Qhan's adoptive son, and acted as his lieutenant-general: and this alliance having facilitated another, he likewise engaged Nedjef-Qhan himself to accept his sister, by which means he came into favour again, and was complimented with the fodjdary of Soharen-p8r-b8ria.

Gives him a bloody defeat.

And grants him a pardon.

ALL this while Abd8l-Ahed-Qhan was so far master of the Emperor's heart and mind, that he governed the household and the court with a single nod of his head; but his main business seemed to be to demolish Nedjef-Qhan's power and influence. He was perpetually upon the watch to hurt him, like a serpent rolled upon itself; but the late victory entirely damped his ardour. As soon as he heard of this total defeat of Zabeta-Qhan, a man on whose pride and prowess, as well as that of his national troops, he had so much relied for humbling Nedjef-Qhan to dust, he concluded that it was preposterous

Abdol-Ahed-Qhan's jealousy and Schemes against Nedjef-Qhan's growing power.

He designs to
attack and sub-
due the Sycks.

terous in him to contend any more with so successful a rival: but, as at the same time this defeat of the Rohilahs had also greatly weakened the Sycks, their new allies, he resolved to avail himself of this event; and he concluded that the best party he could take would be to put himself, with the young Shahzadah, at the head of an army, with which he might, by marching up to Ser-hend, subdue a power that seemed to be already in distress: for he reckoned that after having brought them to terms of submission, he might join their forces to his victorious troops, and then fall at once upon his odious rival. This design having been approved by Shah-Aalem, that prince ordered his elder son, Djuvan-Baqht, and his younger son, Ecber-Shah, to join the minister; and the latter was already encamped in the out-skirts of the city, when he published, that “ whoever “ was a soldier would find service in his camp, and ought to come to his “ standard.” The city being full of military men, who breathed nothing but war, his camp was soon filled with a mighty army; and as soon as it was known that there was a perfect concert between the Emperor and him, several commanders who resided in the country, and some others who had a character, but were accustomed to live by war, came from far and near, and joined his troops; so that the encamped army received daily additions. The Emperor, at the same time, having laid his commands on Nedjef-Qhan, the latter sent a body of his own troops to join the Imperial prince; and by such a step, he gave the expedition an air of concert which in reality it had not. The minister having by these means furnished himself with feathers and wings, pushed forwards; and in emulation of Nedjef-Qhan’s boldness he advanced beyond Serhend; where, instead of seeking the enemy, he commenced a negotiation with the principal of the Syck rulers; he made a muster of his power, and exhorted him to a timely submission; but all this while he had not minded the poet’s advice:

“ A wooden sword, engaging like one of steel,

“ Is not likely to support the comparison;

THE

THE Syck observing that the minister spent his time in negotiations, soon guessed the temper of the man he was to deal with; and breaking at once the conferences, he prepared to fall upon his enemy; accordingly he attacked the next day. Some skirmishes took place, but nothing like a general engagement; and yet this was enough to damp Abdol-ahed-Qhan's spirits at once: without having suffered any loss, or even an check, he took fright at the sight of unsheathed sabres; and his cowardly timorous nature informing him internally that he would never stand the brunt of a battle, he took the Shah-zadah with him and fled without once turning about to look behind on those numerous troops of his, where not a single man had yet moved a foot from his post. After this flight, the troops retired of course, and Nedjef-Qhan's corps was amongst the first that retreated; but it was in so good order, that no one would chuse to approach it. Some other commanders followed, and retiring in good order, marched off unpursued: numbers of the bravest of the other corps joining together, retired at a slow pace likewise; but numbers of others, after having through their own ill conduct, or the incapacity of their chiefs, roamed about for some time, dispersed at last, and were then set upon one after another by the enemies, who despoiled them of both arms and horses, as well as clothes: it was in such a dismal condition that they fled to their homes, and most of them to the capital; but not without undergoing a variety of hardships: such a compleat disgrace was enough to humble the minister; but it served moreover to demolish him totally.

Is shamefully
defeated by these
Sycks.

NEDJEF-QHAN thought of making his profit of it; he had all along stood still like a mark to be shot at by Abdol-ahed-Qhan and his party; and he had all along put up with the daily injuries he received from him; but thinking now that his concerns were blended with those of an incensed public that cried for vengeance, and concluding that there was no safety for him as well as for the public, but in the removal of that man from all power and influence, he supplicated the Emperor to remove that disturber

Is deprived of
all his offices,
and confined by
Nedjef-Qhan.

of the public repose from all his offices and employments, and to send him into condign confinement. The Emperor, who is a strange sort of a man indeed, and of a character that borders upon foolishness and imbecillity, made haste to obey his general's mandate; and the latter without losing time, made haste to send a number of trusty officers to the minister's house, where they siezed and confined his person, and confiscated his whole fortune: out of all that wealth, the general took nothing for himself but his library, and his Pharmacy, and collection of drugs and fossiles, which really contained great curiosities; but he sent to the Emperor the money, furniture, and jewels; three articles that amounted to a great number of lacs. After this operation Nedjef-Qhan sent several commanders of his own, who repulsed the Sycks, and drove them back to their homes; and these officers exhibited in other respects so much bravery and conduct, that the Sycks acknowledged Nedjef-Qhan's superiority, and behaved submissively to him; although those mendicants turned soldiers, had been during all these troubles receiving such continual additions, that they now reckoned their numbers by lacs.—Nedjef-Qhan, having now confirmed his power by that act of authority, has seen his name become an object of dread and respect all over the provinces of Dehli and Acber-abad, where he lives with the utmost splendor and dignity. His character now commenced spreading abroad, and making impression even on the English; a nation acute, provident, and that sees deep into futurity; and he that had been left hitherto unnoticed and unminded, now received an Envoy from General Coote, who happened to be in that neighbourhood: this envoy was Mr. Massac (2), who delivered a message full of complaints, mixed with some threats, in which he mentioned how much the English had hitherto borne and forborne. Nedjef-Qhan returned a firm answer, and such as was calculated to impose silence, and to quash all further discussion; but many dangerous troubles having arisen at this very time in the south of India, a stop

(2) Mr. Massac being born in Aleppo, spoke good Arabic, and was become a proficient in the Persian, which is full of Arabic words, and even whole phrases.

was put to all further discussions with that rising conqueror: otherwise, there is no doubt, but the disputes would have grown warmer between the two parties, and that the respective pretensions would have been supported by armies: so that it is highly probable, that Nedjef-Qhan would have appeared in the field against the English. We must wait to see what may be the subsequent events; and in whose behalf the divine protection shall be pleased to declare itself: what nation shall prevail by the superiority of it's fortune in the contest; and on whose standards the gale of divine Providence shall be pleased to blow.

“ Let us wait till we see which of the two parties, the prevalence of fate,

“ Shall raise to the skies, or depress and crush for ever.”

BUT as we have already mentioned succinctly, in the former volume, such authentic accounts of the affairs of Decan as had come to our knowledge, and have inserted them in the body of our history; it is not therefore out of it's place that we should continue to impart to the reader such further creditable intelligence as is come to hand in the month of Shaaban and the beginning of the month of Ramazan, in the year 1195 of the Hedjra. According, then, to those accounts, General Goddard after having taken the fortress of Bessi (3), which is one of the strongest and most important fortresses under the Marhatta power, marched with intention to make himself master of P8nah, the capital of that Empire, the center of it's power, and the residence of all the principal grandees and rulers of that nation. This undertaking was opposed by several Marhatta generals, who joining their forces together, advanced some stages from P8nah towards the salt water (4), where they fought the English troops with a variety of successes; but in such a manner, however, that not a day passed without some severe action, in which the generals

The English
wage war in De-
can, against the
Marhattas.

(3) Upon the Charts, Bassain.

(4) We have already observed that Deria, which strictly signifies the Sea, is come to signify in the Persian used in India, a large body of water. The Ganges itself is called Deria: hence the Sea is become designated by the word Deria Shor, or salt-water; for the Hindostany word for sea, is Somondur.

General God-
dard defeated.

on both sides exerted themselves to the utmost of their abilities and courage; and vast numbers of brave men fell every day on both sides.

At last a final engagement took place, in which General Goddard was defeated: but he had the abilities and presence of mind to assemble the few men that had escaped the slaughter (and these did not exceed two thousand men) and to make good his retreat towards the sea, abandoning his cannon and baggage: there he found ships ready, in which he embarked with his men, and reached Bombay. This is an island defended by a strong fortress of the same name, built long ago by the English, and replenished with every necessary for a long defense: there he remains actually waiting for reinforcements, and for an opportunity of recommencing his operations. There is some report that he is gone to Bender-S8ret, (Surat); but the truth of this God knows. What is come to our knowledge of late, is this, that another English army, under the command of Colonel Camac, another commander of great conduct and bravery, had penetrated into the province of Malva, (where the English were already in possession of the famous fortress of Gevaliar) and had made themselves masters of a number of strong places, and a vast extent of country. But these conquests brought upon him a great army of Marhattas from Decan, who, by intercepting his convoys and forages, and by repeated engagements with his troops, as well as by reducing to straits his garrison, and troops in Goaliar, so harassed that officer, that he was obliged to surrender that fortress to the Radja of Gohud, it's owner; and, moreover, to evacuate all his other conquests; after which he retreated towards Calpy and Atava. That commander arrived in that neighbourhood after a very fatiguing retreat, and took up his quarters there.

The Marhattas oblige Colonel Camac to a retreat.

THE same reports mention that Haider-Näik continues to lord it all over the Carnatic; and that General Coote, who is a member of the Supreme Council, and the commander in chief of all the English troops in India, having
gone

This never happened to Genl. Goddard; for in his retreat, he lost not a single particle of baggage even.

gone over to those parts with a body of troops by Governor Hughtins's commands, had been obliged to shut himself up in the fortress of Mandradj, from which he now and then came out and fought the enemy, just as opportunity served, and times could afford.

So many disasters having befallen every one of the armies which Governor Hughtins had sent throughout Hindostan and Decan, and the unprosperous state of the Company's affairs becoming truly alarming, he thought it incumbent on him to provide betimes for the safety of the provinces entrusted to his care, which were Bengal, Azimabad, A3d, and Ilahabad. It was with that view he commenced some connections with Nedjef-Qhan and Shah-aalem, as well as with some other princes that figured in Hindostan: to all those he sent envoys, with letters and messages fraught with sentiments of friendship and amity; his intention being to gain them over to the English Interest, lest the Marhatas, availing themselves of the misfortunes of his nation, should think of penetrating into their richest provinces, and spread ruin and devastation every where. He, at the same time, intended to obtain from the wealthy men who had enriched themselves in the affairs of the government, a mighty sum of money by way of contribution, as he wished to keep it in reserve for unforeseen emergencies. These letters and proffers had such an effect on Nedjef-Qhan, as proved the very reverse of what was intended: the style of the messages that had heretofore passed between that conqueror and General Coote, had rendered the former so suspicious against the designs of the English, that it is probable he would have entered into a treaty with the Marhattas, as he was apprehensive lest some connections might come to take place between that nation and the English, against his interest: not that he had any certain intelligence of such a design, for he only suspected it; as the English are a race of men who are keen-sighted and full of policy and secrecy, but none so much as the governor himself, whose breast is a casket full of inaccessible secrets, and a repository of impenetrable views

Admirable character of Governor Hughtins.

He makes a progress into Hindostan.

and projects. Who is the man that can make him speak against his mind? and who is that one who could guess from his features, or from his air, or from his words, at any of those secrets locked up in that inaccessible breast? It is out of any man's power; it is utterly impossible. The governor naturally impenetrable, and who had views which none but himself could know, set out from Calcutta, in the month of Redjeb, of the year 1195 of the Hedjra, and travelled towards Lucnow. He had in his company a number of men of merit, whom he knew, and whom he had selected for that purpose; one of these was Mr. Anderson. Amongst the Hindostanees was Aaly-Hibrahim-Qhan, a nobleman whose valuable qualifications we have just hinted with many an honourable mention in our former volumes, and who being neglected by the jealous and unattentive administration of the great ones at Moorshedabad, lived at his own house in obscurity and retirement. The Governor, who is a connoisseur of the first rate, and who knew him personally, invited him to be of his company, where he always received him with the utmost distinction. The Governor travelled with all his household and retinue, and with so much pomp and so many commodities, that he had about four hundred boats in his retinue: he arrived in Shaaban, at Azim-abad, from whence, after a short stay, he went forwards. It was the twenty-third of that month when he arrived at Banares, and the report is that he will make but a short stay there, his views being chiefly turned towards Lucnow, and that city being the place where he intends to unfold them. Before his departure from Calcutta he had received certain intelligence from Europe, that war had been declared to the Hollanders, and he had been enjoined to seize on their forts and factories all over India. These orders were executed in Bengal with a great deal of ease: a fortress of theirs, close to the Bacshy-bender at H8ghly (5), where the Hollanders had their principal settlement, and which was defended by a small garrison, and a number of guns, not less than thirty or forty, under the command of a man of consequence, fell in the hands of the English, without any

(5) It is only a fort with a fosse, in the middle of a rich town called Chichira, close to the Bacshy-bunder or custom-house of H8ghly.

attack

attack or dispute; and the whole property of the Hollanders (6) became a prize for the conqueror. Several factories which that nation had in various places of Bengal, and every one of which was inhabited by three or four Hollanders, busy with the concerns of their Company, were taken possession of in the same quiet manner. They had a factory at Azim-abad, a house of great beauty and vast extent (7); nor was it even quite destitute of strength, being furnished with cannon and men: this also fell in the hands of the English, without the least defense or opposition. Mr. Macs8l (Maxwell), chief of Azim-abad, and Major Hardy, who commanded the garrison, did not meet with the least difficulty in putting in execution the Governor's orders, and in seizing the factories and settlements of that nation all over the province of Bahar. The reason of all this ease and submission is, that the English having from long hand expected such a rupture, had not allowed the Hollanders to fortify themselves in such a manner in Bengal, as should render a military force necessary to subdue and expel them.

The Hollanders dispossessed by the English in Bengal.

THE dissensions between the two nations arose from this event: the king of the English maintained these five or six years past, a contest with the people of America, (a word that signifies a new world), on account of the Company's concerns. By the word company is understood an assembly of thirty or forty of the richest or most creditable men of the country of Inghilter, who joining their funds together obtain the privilege to trade into which climate soever they may chuse out of the seven. Such a body, if even consisting of so few as thirty or forty of such creditable men, is called a company; but there may be three or four hundred of such men in the Company we mean, which holds a rank and pre-eminence

The cause of the war with the Hollanders assigned on the broils happened between the English and the people of Yenghi-D8nia, alias America.

(6) This is an oriental oversight. It was not the property of the Hollanders which the English seized, as says the author, but the public property of the Company. On the contrary, private property was so much respected by the English, that the natives were amazed to see the prisoners of war invited and invited at entertainments and balls. Such manners intirely militated against their notions of the rights of war, or rather their notions of warfare in India.

(7) What they call a Factory in India, is no less than a fortified palace, where lives a chief that equals several Princes of Grmany by his table and expense, and by much surpasses them in pomp and attendance, whenever he appears in public.

amongst

amongst all the merchants of that land. Nor does the king order any thing about their concerns without consulting them first; for whatever he intends to do, he consults the Omrahs or lords of his court; and when the matter has been agreed amongst them, it is then proposed to the council of the nation, which is composed of the principal merchants above, and of a number of other creditable and sensible men chosen two by two by each of the principal towns, cities, and countries, of Ingilter; all these men have their charges borne by the senders, and from that moment they become their deputies and attornies: all these assemble in London, (which is the name of the capital of the English Empire), and there they examine such proposals as are made them by the king and the lords, whether about raising taxes, or about any other object of public concern. Such proposals are consented to by those attornies above, if after a thorough examination, they find them advantageous and convenient to those that have sent them; for it is in their power to reject them; and if they do reject them once, they are rejected by the whole nation likewise. Sometimes the attornies examine a scheme amongst themselves, and if they find it proper and profitable to all the inhabitants of that land, they desire the concurrence of the king and of his lords, request the proposal to be signed, and they become his associates in promoting it's views; for from that moment it becomes obligatory on all the inhabitants of that land, and on all the dependants of that kingdom. Sometimes they disapprove of a proposal, and upon examination, they reject it, as disadvantageous to the nation, or as pregnant with mischief; and in that case, it falls into as much neglect, as if no such proposal had ever been made: nor dares the king pretend to go forwards with it, or to carry it in execution, when once it has been disapproved and rejected by them.

As to the men of America, the country designed both by the words of a Newfoundland, and also by those of Yenghi-Dunia (8), that is new

(8) These words, which are Turkish, signify new World.

world, they are themselves of English extraction and of English blood: they are the sons and children of the English. It must be observed that the astronomers and geographers of that nation, after many researches and observations, have found out a great number of differences between their remarks and the opinions of the ancients. Amongst these differences, the principal one is this, that the circumference and figure of the land and water in our globe are not as they were thought heretofore. They say that the latter seems to encompass the former as a girdle; and they add, that in the same manner as a portion of ground has emerged out of the waters on our side, and is become dry and habitable in seven several climates; in like manner another portion has risen opposite to it, and is become habitable by mankind: whence it might happen, that the feet of the inhabitants of the two portions would meet sole to sole were the earth to be withdrawn from between, whilst their heads would continue to look towards heaven. To conclude, it may be said that the two portions or hemispheres seem inclined towards each other; and although the extent of the other hemisphere has not been totally explored, yet it is conjectured that should the whole earth be divided into five parts, three parts of it would fall to the lot of the old hemisphere, already divided into seven climates; and the two others, with a fraction, would constitute the other, or new hemisphere. This new hemisphere is humid and cold, and also humid and hot; but the whole of it has not been yet explored and examined. They bring from thence a variety of medicinal drugs, and a variety of fine woods, fit for chests and furniture; and they say that most parts of its soil produce mines of gold and silver. The discovery of so great a part of our globe is intirely owing to the following chance.

ABOUT four hundred years ago a ship, beaten by a storm, was thrown upon those coasts, and by chance discovered that land: it was in the year when the Portuguese ships (so called from Portugal, their Kingdom) came by chance into India: those strangers having seen the country, and taken

a liking to it, formed settlements in that region; And in process of time they became so powerful that they could not be expelled, but in the victorious reign of Shah-Djehan, when they lost all their possessions in India; nor have their descendants in that region recovered from that overthrow: those of them that have remained in H8gly and Mandradj, (Madraſt) as well as elsewhere, have so far degenerated as to have their skins quite black, or at least very swarthy; whilst some of them that retain still an appearance of whiteness, employ themselves in handicrafts. To day we see that most of them addict themselves to writing, and are employed as writers by the English; but without being made any account of by the latter, who reckon them to be no better than so many Indians, But it is not so in their own country in Europe: there they are considered as a power, and have armies and fleets, and a king of their own. To return then to our account of America, as soon as the storm beaten ship, had recovered its harbour, after having just had a peep at the new land, it was found that several of her men had learned the way of repairing thither; and a very sensible chief amongst them, having obtained access to a woman of the royal race, he, by her assistance, fitted three or four ships, and having attached to his undertaking some of the ablest men amongst those that had seen the new land, he made a voyage thither and staid a long time in it, on purpose to examine its productions, and even to gain some of its inhabitants with whom he contracted a friendship, first by signs, and then by acquiring some knowledge of their language: he even ventured under their guidance to advance some miles from the shore. In his stay in that country he took the latitude and longitude of those shores, as well as their situation with regard to the elevation of the pole, so as to form something like a chart. He also examined the passes and defiles, and likewise the rising and setting of the sun. After providing himself with all this stock of knowledge, he returned home: the next year he came back with a number of ships full of warlike stores, and all the necessaries for making a settlement; and he made one accordingly, in which he settled himself with a small number of the principal men he had brought with

with him. The year following, another swarm of men, hearing of his successes, came and settled in his neighbourhood. It was some time after, that the English, who hearing of this discovery, and being an enterprising nation, conceived the design of visiting that new land; and they repaired thither in crouds: there they cultivated the ground, raised buildings, built towns and cities, and made them their homes from thenceforward for ever; rearing their children in that land, and accustoming themselves so much to their new habitations, that most of them renounced their original country, and refused to return thither. But all this however was without departing from their submission to their King, and without ceasing to be obedient to his commands, and to such of his servants, as had remained in Inghilter and in London, their original land. They paid such tributes as had been established after the English pattern, and matters remained on that footing, until the Yenghi-D8nians (Americans) having increased so greatly in population, that their numbers were now reckoned by lacs and lacs: the king by the advice of his ministers and principal men, imposed upon them a new sum of money, over and above that which they had been accustomed to pay. This happened about six or seven years ago. The Yenghi-D8nians displeased with the new imposition, refused to obey the king's commands; and the latter having ordered his governors and officers, then in that land, to enforce obedience to his edicts, the inhabitants joined together in opposing those officers; and having seized most of them, revolted from their authority, and set up for themselves, spreading full open the standard of rebellion and defiance, and preparing every thing for a vigorous defence. As these people are of the same blood with the English, and of course equal to them in military talents, in courage, and in every thing that pertains to war; and they were as much skilled as themselves in the art of managing their flint-locks and their artillery; and as over and above those advantages they had had plenty of necessaries, they made no difficulty of encountering the king's troops and generals, to which they gave several defeats, so as at last to destroy or ruin his army.

The Americans
revolt and beat
the English.

The

The king sent other generals and other forces, furnished with an immense quantity of stores and necessaries; nor did the Americans decline the contest; and they came into the field with what warlike stores they had at hand. But as these began to run short, they applied to the Fransifians, (or French,) for a supply of necessary stores, and for some other succours. The latter who have an enmity of some hundred years standing against the English of Europe, and were glad of a dissention that weakened their hereditary foes, did not fail to assist their new allies with every thing they wanted; but as as they had a treaty of peace with the English, the term of which was not yet expired, they were obliged meanwhile to act secretly in the assistance they gave the Americans: which however proved so effectual, as to consist of every succour that could be wished for. The English apprised of this artifice, concluded that an open war was better than a deceitful peace, and accordingly they attacked the French likewise; so that it is now the second or third year since they waged war with them. But mean while the inhabitants of the new land having stretched their nerves, and made mighty efforts, gave at last a total defeat to the fresh troops and generals that had been sent against them by the king. Such an unprosperous war, which had cost already more than thirty or forty thousand men and above twenty corores of rupees (9), struck the king's ministers with fear and amazement; the more so, as over and above the war with their own kinsmen, the men of the new land, and that with the French, which now raged with fury, they had to oppose also a new enemy; and this was the Espan-yols, who are a different nation from those already mentioned, and have a king and a kingdom of their own. These Espan-yols are a very western nation, always at war with the Roman Emperors (10), since the latter took from them the city of Ashtanbol,

They are assisted by the French.

The Spaniards join the French.

(9) Twenty-five million Sterling.

(10) Natoly, or rather Anatoly, is likewise called Rom or Room by the Turks, who possess that Country; and it was called so by the eastern nations, because it was the only part of the Roman Empire they were acquainted with. The Turkish Emperors having succeeded to the Roman Emperors, are called Roman Emperors all

Ashtanbol about five hundred years ago, in which time they have not ceased to wage war with the R8mees (Romans): this nation also got up to assist the French and Americans, and to assault the English. In short, the Hollanders likewise came to be involved in this war against the English, whose prevalent power they feared, and whose conquests in Hindostan they had beheld with the utmost jealousy. As these people are addicted to a pacific system, they abstain from dissensions and disputes with other nations; and both on that account, and on account of the benefits of the trade they drove with the combatants above, they were averse from engaging in a war with any of them; but as they traded in every article whatever, and of course imported into America immense quantities of musquets, canon, balls, and all kinds of warlike stores; and they seemed warmly engaged in that business; the English displeased with this artificial behaviour, thought it better to come to an open war with them. Time alone will point out what may be the final intention of providence in this diversity of concerns and interests; and time alone will discover what it has ultimately predestined on those obscure points; *for God Almighty is the disposer of all events!* (11) But it is now time to take our leave of this subject, and to return to Hindostan; for as we have set out with this history by mentioning the Emperor Aorengzib's demise, and we are now going to close our last volume, the curious will not be displeased with hearing, at the end of our history, some singular and interesting accounts of that very long reign.

We did not intend at first to meddle with the strange events of Shah-Aalem's reign, who is now the reigning Emperor of Hindostan; but as we have been drawn insensibly into such a narrative by the very

The Author quits the American war to launch into the latter part of the Emperor Aoreng-zib's history.

over the East, as is their country called Rome or R8m, and their people, Romis, or R8mis, or Romans. Istanbol is a corruption of Istanbul, the Turkish name for Constantinople, which last is itself a corruption of the three Greek words *Is Tin polin*. For the Greeks to this day, as well as those of an older date, never design Constantinople by any other appellation than that of *Polis*, the city. But in all Turkish books of an older date than a hundred years, Constantinople bears the name of *Constantinyah*.

(11) A sentence of the Coran.

tenor of our history, we have thought it expedient to close our discourse by some account of the (singular) character and very extraordinary actions of his venerable grand-father, Aoreng-zib the Conqueror; who may be considered as the founder and author of the reigning branch that now sits on the throne of Hindostan: not that there is the least resemblance between them, nor that Aaly-Goher can pretend to the good character of his father, or to the high character of his grand-father; or that there is the least equality betwixt the real pearl and its shell, nor betwixt real coin and a quantity of couries (12): but as the bezoar is found with the snake, and the thorns grow with the rose, we, in compliance with the celestial oracle, *everything returns to its original element*, have thought proper to join together the history of Aoreng-zib with that of Shah-Aalem, both being very strange characters, although in a different style; they are both extraordinary and surprising mortals, but of a strangeness relative to the time in which each of them did live. Aoreng-zib, who with a watlike turn of mind and much personal valor, was always shrewd and, in general, moderate and prudent, in his conduct, is nevertheless found to have committed such strange unaccountable actions, that Shah-Aalem himself, with all his proficiency in such strangeness of conduct, seems to be but an under-match to him, and one quite unequal to the honour of being counted amongst his disciples. In the cause and singularity of their actions there is some difference, likewise, as their circumstances and power are so very desperate; but in the bizarery of their conduct they are upon a par; and of this the reader shall easily judge by himself, when he comes to peruse what we have to say of Aoreng-zib, and we shall have mentioned the expedition to Häider-abad and the conquest of that kingdom, as they have been handed down with a deal of liberty by Naamer-Aali-Qhan-Qhäfi. The

(12) There are two kinds of Cauries, or Cabries, in Bengal; one harder, that comes from the Maldivas, and in which the revenues of Government are paid in Oressa or Catec; so that hundreds of women are pressed at a time, to count a sum of ten thousand Rupees; and one sort softer, that comes from Mosambic and Monbasa, in Africa; and 5200 of these go for a Rupee in Bengal, where they serve for small coin.

reader will then draw conclusions for himself, by judging of a whole by some samples, and of a heap by our hand-full.

And first it will be proper to keep present in one's mind that whoever has received his dismissal from the borrowed hospice of this fragile world, has no resource, but must comply with the order, and prepare himself for his last voyage, by packing up what he is to carry with him, and of course by throwing away and abandoning all that he had been amassing and hoarding up in his life time: now his actions and works are the only things that can stick to him, and the only ones he must carry to the other world. If then his actions prove to have been good, he will now reap the benefit of them; and his name will remain behind to be for ever remembered with gratitude by mankind: otherwise, it will be an object of detestation; and in this predicament the vanquished, no less than the victor, stands upon a par; and upon a par stands the distressed poor man, as well as the renowned Prince. There have been in past times persons of both descriptions of which due mention has been made in these sheets: but gone are they and past; nor can we find any trace left of the good ones, nor any certain foot-steps of the bad ones, save the names: the names only of these two species of beings remain behind, and are mentioned by the living as they seem to have deserved: every one of them receives now a full retribution for what he may have done; and being remembered with pleasure or with imprecation, he serves as an example to excite, or as a warning to deter, living men, by the remembrance of the departed ones; and as these last are daily mentioned by the living ones, these likewise will one day furnish a matter of talk to their descendants, and will be judged by their actions and works. It is for such a reason and with such a view that I have brought together about the end of these sheets, some parts of Aoreng-zib's life: a prince who under the veil of piety and of an austere virtue, knew how to conceal all the vices of a boundless covetousness, and an insatiable ambition. Nor are these particulars unauthentic

thenticated (13): They have been made up out of what has been transmitted to posterity by the kings, generals, grandees, and other eminent persons, who lived with him on a friendly footing, or were in distinguished stations in his service: the sayings, as well as the memoirs, of those illustrious well-informed personages constitute what may be called Aoreng-zib's history; and they are recorded in that valuable book, written by Mohammed-Hashem-Qhan, whose father had been a long time in the service of M8rad-Baqsh, brother to that Emperor; and who, after that prince's defeat and total ruin, was taken into the service by Aoreng-zib himself, and in a little time became an object of the highest favour with that discerning Prince; so that whatever he records is in the greatest part from his own personal knowledge. Nor does his work furnish any handle for suspicion; nor does it appear susceptible of imposition or calumny. It looks to all intents and purposes like an entertainment spread for the ears of the attentive and curious, by the hands of a plain honest steward, who makes it a point to omit no virtue and no laudable action that may serve for an example; nor to conceal any vice, or blameable behaviour that may serve for a warning to these numerous caravans of travellers that are perpetually pouring in and hurrying out of the borrowed hospice of this world.

Aoreng-zib's
character.

AORENG-ZIB, after his victory over his brother Dara-Shecoh, seized on his own father, Shah-Djehan, that second Lord of the conjunction (14), and sent him into a grievous confinement, where the unfortunate Monarch remained full eight years; nor was he released but by the angel of death, which at the same time released his soul from the prison of his body. In vain did his beloved daughter (15), implore at his death bed, his forgiveness,

(13) This unexpected sortie upon Aoreng-zib must not surprize the reader: the author was a Shyah and a bigotted fanatical one: the Emperor was a zealous Sunni, and moreover one that had put an end to two Shyah kingdoms, and to two Shyah Dynasties.

(14) Conjunction of the two planets of Jupiter and Venus, which they suppose to produce power and honours to those born under their influence. Timur, or Tamer-lang, his great ancestor, was the first Lord of the conjunction; and it is for that reason he bears upon his Coins the title of *Sabab-Kyan*.

(15) That Princess (Roshen-ara-Begum id. est. Princess Roxana*) whose poetical talents, witty repartees, and surpassing beauty, were then, as they are even to day, the matter of so many songs, constantly refused to submit

* Luminous, or beautiful.

giveness for her brother Aoreng-zib; the incensed parent constantly refused it, and he departed with sentiments of indignation and resentment. Nor did he use his elder-brother, Dara-Shecoh, with more tenderness; and as to his younger brother, Morad-Baqsh, who had been so instrumental in that victory, the only return he made him, was endeavouring by every means in his power to circumvent that unsuspecting youth. The unfortunate Prince, upon his invitation, had set out from Gudjerat, his government, at the head of his troops; and had rendered him considerable services in the battle against Maha-radja-Djesvent-Rat-hor, and then in that which ruined Dara-Shecoh in the plains of 8djéin: in both which he fought like a common trooper, and received several wounds that had set his military character in the strongest light. But all these merits did not avail: the artful Aoreng-zib kept this simple young man in good humour, by ordering his officers to present him with their nuzurs for his victory; and by making him believe that their master's whole ambition being to spend his days in the two holy cities (16), he would of course leave the empire to his disposal. The young Prince, who had a deal of frankness in his temper, and no less simplicity in his turn of mind, yielded so much belief to his protestations, that he used to frequent his artful brother without the least suspicion: to no purpose did several of his faithful servants advise him to be more cautious, and to beware of his brother; for all answer they received a reprimand; nor could he be brought to believe that so many promises and so many protestations, with such an appearance of humility and abstinence, would end in artifice and perfidy.

His hardness
of heart to his
father and bro-
thers.

submit to wedlock; and she chose to shut herself up with her father, upon whose heart it is universally reported and believed her person had made the deepest impression. It appears by many miniatures, executed by the best masters of those times, that she had a fair complexion, with the most sweet features imaginable, and a fine head of glossy black hair, that flowed in long ringlets over her shoulders, exactly like those seen in the portrait of the famous Ninon-L'Enclos, made in 1660; and not unlike the manner of wearing the hair amongst the European Ladies, (now in 1786) but more gracious and pleasing. Her father, who conserved strong virile powers at the age of sixty-five, is represented with a beautiful long oval face, and a white short beard, but always with long black whiskers; a particularity that stuck to him all his life, and accompanied his person to the grave.

(16) The Holy Cities, are Mecca, the glorious, where is the Caaba; and Medina, the illuminated, where is the Prophet's tomb, at ten days north of Mecca.

His father
of Dara to his
father and
Dara

Affecting nar-
rative of Prince
Dara - Shecoh's
flight & adven-
tures.

He soon had, however, a full opportunity of being thoroughly convinced at last; and whilst he was in pursuit of Dara-Shecoh, Aoreng-zib got him seized and confined in the fortress of G8aliar; where on hearing that he had found friends in the place, and had attempted to effect his escape, he, without the least scruple, resolved to put him to death: for this purpose he made choice of one of his dependants whom he engaged to revenge thereby the death of his own father, who had been put to death by M8rad-Baqsh on suspicion that he intended to join Dara-Shecoh, against whom he was then marching from Gudjrat: he even proposed that murder to him as a religious duty, to which he was obliged by the tallion law. Such was the usage he offered to one who was his confederate and his brother. As to Dara-Shecoh, his other brother, who had been overtaken in his flight, he was first carried in chains throughout the whole city of Shah-Djehan-abad, and the next day, under pretence of his being an heretic of the sect of the Mystics, he was put to death; and his body being thrown upon an elephant; underwent a second voyage throughout the same circuit of old Dehly and Shah-Djehan-abad, as if to feed with this hideous spectacle the eyes of those that had seen him alive two days before. This unfortunate Prince, after losing that great battle at Adimir, by the perfidy and management of Radja-Djesvent-Rat-hor, conceived, that although fortune had been unfavourable to him, she had not yet turned her back; and with this hope he fled towards Gudjrat. He had with him his consort and little daughter, with a small retinue of friends and attendants: the voyage proved tedious and full of dangers; and it is incredible how many hardships and dangers this illustrious and unfortunate troop was obliged to undergo, before it could reach the environs of Ahmed-abad (17). Seyd-Ahmed, the Viceroy of the Province, wanted to go out and to meet his Lord, a prince to whom he owed his fortune and his present station; but his intention was opposed by the garrison and by

(17) Ahmed-abad, the Amadavat of the charts, is the same as G8djratt, the Capital of a great province of that name.

all the crown-officers, who dreading Aoreng-zib's resentment, seized on their governor, put him in confinement, and shut up their gates. The fugitive Prince in despair, went to Candj8r, (a certain chieftain of C8lies, a clan whose professed business is to rob and plunder on the high way and in villages;) and implored his assistance. The man not content with having entertained and assisted the Prince, with every thing which his means could afford; and with having personally served and attended him with the humble deportment of a servant; gave him a strong escort of his banditties, who had orders to see him safe in the territory of Ketch, a port that looks towards the frontiers of Iran: here he seemed to have seen a ray of hope. The Prince was hardly arrived in that territory, when he was unexpectedly joined by a body of fifty horses and two hundred foot, which were brought by a faithful servant of his, one G8l-Mahmed, an officer of rank, who abandoning his government of S8ret-Bender, took with him as much money as he could muster; and sacrificing his own safety, as well as his fortune and employment, to his attachment for this Prince, he came with that timely succour, and effected his junction with his old master, at a moment when every one was turning his back upon him. For the Prince on the other hand had been totally disappointed in the great hopes he had conceived from the Zemin-dar of Ketch; a powerful lord, who in his days of prosperity had sought his favor by betrothing his daughter to Sepehr-Shecoh (18), son to the fugitive Prince; the man was intirely altered now, and gave him a flat refusal on that subject. The Prince obliged to quit his territory, was obliged to advance by Bacar, a country on the bank of the Send*: there the Chandies, another clan of semi-barbarians, who inhabit those parts and live under tents, assembled together, with intention to seize on him and to plunder his baggage; nor was it without all the pains imaginable that G8l-Mahmed with his small force found means to rescue him from their hands, and to carry him safe to the frontiers of the Mecies, another semi-barbarous peo-

(18) Sepehr-Shecoh signifies as Pompeus, as the firmament or as the sun; Dara-Shecoh, as Pompeus as Dara or Darius. M8rad-Baqsh (very often now the name of a Dance-girl) signifies the grantor of wishes, the completion of desires. Aoreng-zib, the ornament of the throne.

* Alias Indus, alias Atec.

ple, living also in tents. But here he was received with the greatest respect by Mirza-Mecfi, who was the chief of that clan. This chieftain came upon the road, assisted him with money and other necessaries, shewed him every demonstration of respect, and took such a concern in his welfare, that he proposed his taking refuge in Iran or Persia; in which case he offered to serve as guide to the Prince and to escort him as far as Candahar; he was even very urgent on the necessity of taking such a party. But the Prince under the actual influence of his adverse fortune, did not listen to his advice: he seemed to be the man pointed out by the poet in these verses:

“ When fortune turns her back on a brave man,
“ He never fails to do precisely what he ought not to have done.”

THE Prince in compliance with the advice of some zealous, indeed, but short-sighted and unexperienced friends, resolved to seek an asylum in the territory of Melec-Djiven, a powerful Zemindar of those parts, who owed him the highest obligations. This Zemindar or Prince had been many years ago condemned by Shah-Djehan for some crime to be made fast to the foot of an elephant; and the sentence was going to be executed, when the Prince obtained his grace from his father, and thereby restored him to life. This Afghan hearing of the Prince's distress, intreated him by letters couched in the most respectful style, to come and repose himself in the territories of a man who was his gratefull devoted servant; and the Prince, who judged of that man's feelings by his own heart, took that road, in hopes that with so powerful an assistance he might possibly retrieve his affairs. Good God, what a fatal mistake!—That infamous, ungrateful, unfeeling wretch, was all this while endeavoring to bring the Prince within his power, with a firm intention to ingratiate himself for ever with Aoreng-zib, by unexpectedly complimenting him with such a present; that is, with the person and life of a benefactor, to whom he owed no less than his own life. The infernal Afghan having set out with such a design in his accursed breast, met the Prince on the road; and with all the artifice and all the hypocrisy so conspicuous in the devil, his prototype, he brought him to his palace, where

he

he seemed so intent on serving him, that he lulled his mind into a thorough security. Unfortunately for the Prince, it happened that this consort, worn down by the fatigues and other hardships of so precipitate a flight, as well as overcome by her grief and sorrow, fell into an ill habit of body, which rest might have cured, but which continual grief and endless fatigue had rendered mortal; and she expired in a few days in the arms of a beloved husband, whom her sex forbade her to follow, but whose parting her tender heart could never bear. A most affectionate attachment had at all times subsisted between this unfortunate couple; and this unexpected stroke overwhelmed the disconsolate prince under the load of some mountains of grief and woe. His mind, fatigued by his adverse fortune, had seemed to flag even before this; but now he fell prostrated, and seemed to have lost his senses: thinking himself in perfect safety with Melec-Djiven, he parted with G81-Mahmed, that brave soldier, who had prodigued his blood and fortune for him, and had come to his assistance from so far, at a time when was alone and past all assistance: he joined to him the eunuch Maac81 brave zealous servant, who had already shed his blood in his defense; and he ordered those invaluable friends to take their best men with them, and to carry the coffin of the Princess to Lahor, where she was to be entombed in the mausoleum of Mollahmir of Bedaghshani (19), who had been the Princess's patron saint. Nor were they to return, but after having acquitted themselves of that office. On the departure of those two invaluable men, the Prince remained alone in his enemy's house, with only some eunuchs, some menial servants, and a number of such useless impotent people. But hardly were those two men gone when a smell of treason spread all over the house of that abominable Afghan, and at last affected the olfactory nerves of the Prince's understanding. his confidence turned into fear and dismay; he repented of his having trusted that infernal man; and without saying a word of his discovery, he expressed a desire of going to Candahar. The man, so

(19) Bedaghshan is the name of a Country of the Euzbeg-Tartary full of Mines, and mountains; it is from thence the world receives the Spinel Rubees. It's Capital bears the the same name.

far from disapproving the design, offered to escort him in the voyage; and having accompanied him to the next stage, he requested his permission to return in order to provide some necessaries, leaving at the same time with the Prince, a brother of his, at the head of a strong body; and this brother had orders to arrest him and to bring him back. The brother having suffered the Prince to advance two or three coffes more, at once arrested all his retinue, disarmed those defenceless people; and having laid his infamous hands upon the Prince and his little daughter, he had the heart to carry them back, together with the women attached to his person, and all that disconsolate impotent multitude that composed his retinue: all these he delivered to that accursed man, who had long ago conceived the design of arresting his brother, and killing his guest. He lodged the Prince and his forlorn family in a separate apartment, set a guard over them, and sent notice of what he had done to his two next neighbours, Radja Djehi-Sing and Bahadyr-Qhan, who both were in pursuit of the fugitive Prince. He at the same time informed Bakyr-Qhan, sodjdar of the country, of what he had done. The sodjdar that very moment transmitted the letter to court, with a suplique of his own; and there came some moments after two suppliques more to the same effect, from both Djehi-Sing and Bahadyr-Qhan. Aoreng-zib on receiving these letters, expressed his satisfaction, and ordered the military music to strike up, whilst his whole court, with one voice, loaded Melec Djivan with curses, reproaches, and imprecations.

THAT Emperor so zealous for the honor of religion, so full of piety and meekness; that brother so grateful for the important services rendered him by a brother, now in the abyss of distress, immediately dispatched a dromedary courier, with a qhylaar for the perfidious Afghan, changed his name into that of Baqht-yar-Qhan (20), presented him with the command of

(20) These words signify the Lord Companion of my Good Fortune; befriending my Good Fortune. And also the Lord befriended by Fortune.

two hundred horses, and the grade of a thousand, and directed Bahadyr-Qhan to bring his prisoner to court. The forlorn Prince being brought close to the capital, an order came to put an iron collar round his neck, with cuffs and chains on his hands and feet, and to carry him in procession from the Lahor-gate to the Chandni-chock, (market or square) so as to pass by two of the gates of the citadel; from whence he was to proceed along the streets and markets, to Saad-ollah-Qhan's square, after which he was to be carried to the Qhavvas-P8ra, in Old Dehly, there to be confined in the apartment called Qhyzyr-abad. Mean while the officer Bahadyr-Qhan was introduced to the presence, where he was received with much distinction, and loaded with favours. The next day that infernal Melec-Djiven, now Baqht-yar-Qhan, was to come to court. That abominable wretch having been hardy enough to make his appearance in broad day-light, was no sooner descried in his way to the citadel, as he was crossing the Chandni-choc, than he and his Afghans were loaded with curses and execrations by some of Dara-Shecoh's slave-boys, who being immediately joined by a number of shop-keepers, and all the idlers that thronged the streets, the Afghans were assaulted with baskets full of dung and dirt, with clods of earth, and with brick-bats and stones; and the attack was made with so much fury that numbers of them were killed on the spot; nor could the traitor have escaped himself, had not the Cutval or police-officer run to his assistance at the head of a detachment of the Imperial guards, who rescued him alive from the hands of that enraged multitude: for now the people standing at their doors or upon their terraces, loaded the Afghans with execrations; and proceeding from words to blows, a general sedition was insensibly rising, when the Cutval and the guards making their appearance, put an end to the tumult: the people dispersed, and the Cutval carried the Afghan safe to the Citadel.

UPON inquiry it was found that the tumult had arisen from some of Dara-Shecoh's slave-boys, and from some of the Ahedian guards; and these
the

the religious Emperor scrupulously attached to the forms of law, would not order to be put to the sword; he only applied to the Mufties and the ecclesiastical doctors, from whom he asked what the law decreed against such seditious insolent people? And the doctors answered, "*That as the commission of a little evil for the attainment of a mighty good was lawful in some cases and expedient in others, there might be no harm in putting to death people convicted of having opposed the Qhalif's (21) intention, or resisted his commands.*" After this sentence those unfortunate people, who so far from having acted by premeditated malice, had only given way to the violence of their feelings, were all seized and executed with all the forms of law. Some days after this execution, he assembled all the doctors, and in frequent assembly produced a certain literary performance of Dara-Shecoh's, where the latter seemed to inculcate the precepts of Quietisme and Mysticisme, and openly to give his approbation, and even preference, to some tenets of the Gentoo law. The performance being unanimously acknowledged to be his (22); and he being also acknowledged to have pronounced these verses that highly reflected on the Musulmanisme, and strongly favored of infidelity:

" Both believers and unbelievers seek God in their homages,

" And both say in their respective languages, there is no God, but God; and

" he has no companion." (23)

" He was adjudged to have stretched his feet out of the paling of the faith and religion, and to have displayed the standard of heresy; for which crime he might be punished with death; some even voted that it was meritorious to put him to death." This answer having been re-examin-

(21) The Emperors of Hindostan are, as well as the Turkish Monarchs, reputed Qhalifs, or successors to Mahomet; and both the one and the other assumed that title in their Coins and their Diplomas.

(22) This book contained a comparison of the Mahometan and Gentoo laws, and proposed expedients to reconcile the two religions: It is intitled *Medjmoa-i-Babrein*, or junction of two Seas; and is extant to this day: it is written with warmth.

(23) This, properly speaking, is the profession of the Musulman faith, but so modified in its last word, as to be levelled against Christians, (called associators in the Coran) and by Musulmen in general; as the latter accuse them of adoring three Gods, and of giving to God for a companion a man, who had lived and died like a man.

he by those scrupulously religious doctors, was confirmed by their signatures and seals; and the unfortunate Prince was made an example of, to terrify the pretenders to the crown. This event happened in the month of Zilhidj, that month of rejoicing for the Musulman people, and in the year 1069 of the Hedjrah (24). His body that had been alive, but a few days ago was now seen lifeless; stretched upon an elephant, and carried in procession, through the same streets and markets along which the Prince had been full of life but a few days ago; after which it was inhumed in the monument of his glorious ancestor Soltan H8moy8n. This execution was followed by one less affecting, but no less cruel; there was a Fakir named Shah-Sermend, whose only crime was to have deeply felt Dara-Shecoh's misfortunes, and to have expressed a warm attachment for his person. Even so inoffensive a man fell under the animadversion of the ecclesiastical doctors, who, to gain the reigning Prince's favor, never fail to give precisely such an answer as is expected from them. Those Pagan doctors sentenced him to death; and other men as Pagans as the doctors, put the sentence in execution: his body was carried to the cathedral of Shah-Djehan-abad (25), by a multitude of people who buried it in a corner of the yard.

SUCH people were punished with death, as a matter of course; but the commanders and collectors of Aoreng-zib's own appointing, were, meanwhile, suffered to prey without controul upon the vitals of the people; and the Zemindars, those miscreants so often punished by the late Emperors for their extortions upon travellers and merchants, and for their

(24) The tenth of Zilhidj, is set apart to commemorate Hibrabim's intended sacrifice of his eldest son, Ismael. A ram at least is sacrificed, and killed by each head of family, who must roast and eat some part of it, and distribute the rest to the poor; new clothes are given to the family, alms bestowed on the needy, inimities put an end to; quarrells quashed, and pardons asked from any one who may have been offended. Nor is the Sacrifice acceptable if any offended man remains unsatisfied.

(25) This Shah-Sermend must have been a man of importance to have been buried in so sacred and so superb an edifice as the Cathedral of Dehli: for that Cathedral is of white marble, and one of the finest buildings in the world, without excepting any thing in Europe. It was observed of the famous Zophani, one of the most eminent painters of this age, and who had lived seventeen years in Italy, and seen Petersburg, Amsterdam, Vienna, London, and Paris, that on casting his eyes for the first time on that superb edifice, and the more superb one raised as a Mausoleum by Shah-Djehan, at Agra, he screamed out: *where is the case to cover so many beauties? for this is too fine to be exposed to the impression of the air.*

setting up again on the high-ways exactions abolished and condemned long while ago, were suffered to pass unnoticed; nor did any of those religious doctors adjudge to death any one of those eternal oppressors of mankind, were it but to make an example that might repress and deter others of a similar stamp; nor did that religious Emperor, that champion of the faith (26), think so much as once of affording his people so necessary a piece of justice, or of throwing off his shoulders that load of curses and execrations which so many oppressed and ruined families were accumulating upon him. All these events are mentioned at length in the memoirs left us by Hashem-Aali-Qhan-Qhafi (27), the historian, who had been for a length of years in Aoreng-Zib's court, and had enjoyed employs and offices of consequence in his service, had lived with him as a friend, and had been present and witness to all the transactions he records; transactions which although mentioned with all the delicacy and precaution required by those times, nevertheless strongly delineate the real character of that hypocrite. It is from those memoirs I am extracting what I say; and he is my voucher and evidence. He reports expressly, that a number of duties and tolls long ago abolished by the late Emperors, and no more borne upon the books, were nevertheless set up again, and with impunity levied by his own collectors and fodjdars, against whose exactions shoals of oppressed people repaired in bodies to court, and exposed their grievances in his presence with a great deal of vociferation; but this, instead of producing some supplice, or some severe example that might deter others, was answered only by threatening letters, and by orders to inquire into the allegations, as if scrupulously to conform himself to the precepts of the law, with orders that inquiry should always precede punishment. A few of them were punished by a diminution of military grade, or by dismissal; but it was only until they might be reinstated again at

(26) This alludes to one of that Emperor's titles, Ghazy, or even Ghazi-eddin, a champion fighting for the faith: it is a title given to three turkish Emperors, but assumed by all the Hindostany Emperors, who are deemed perpetually at war with Gentoos, or as they are called, with Pagans.

(27) He was son to Qhoadja-Mir; himself an Historian, and a man of a high rank, as well as his son.

the recommendation of their protectors and associates. The extortions and violences of the zemindars upon travellers, merchants and other inoffensive people, rose to such a height in that reign, that whole caravans of people that came from visiting the house of God, (28), were set-upon in their journey homeward, and slaughtered; and consorts and daughters of Musulmen were caried away by Gentoo pagans as somuch fair booty; nor is there mentioning with decency the enormities committed by those miscreants, who acted every where with as much authority as if they had been so many officers appointed by government. But the latter were not less forward than them! those men who are stationed from the port of Surat up to the gates of the captial, on purpose to protect travellers, and especially that particular sort of travellers, availed themselves of their stations to come in for a share of the booty; and after having detained those poor people two or three days together, they despoiled them of the very clothes upon their backs, and dismissed them naked, on finding that nothing else was to be had from them. The above historian relates that he had seen numbers of such people, who after having visited the house of God, in Hedjaz, and the holy places in Irac, were returning to their homes, when they met with the most crying violences from those very guards stationed for their protection. Some being despoiled of their very clothes, were perishing with heat or cold (29), and some were expiring of their wounds in the neighbouring fields: nor was there a sympathising soul throughout the whole court, to listen to their groans, or to administer them relief: none to hear their sobs, but God almighty; none at all; and when at last these violences and enormities came to be mentioned at court, there was not a doctor, not a Mufti, to answer, that *to commit a small evil for the attainment of a mighty good, was lawful and expedient*; none, to adjudge to a con-

(28) The Caaba or square house which in the temple of Mecca, is the object of the Musulman pilgrimage; and not, as Christian fable it, the Prophet's tomb, which is at ten days journey from thence. The holy places in the Arabian Irac are Kerbelah, where is the tomb of Hussein; and C8fah, where Aly is buried. There are some other holy places also in Irac-Arebi or Arabian-Irac.

(29) The Reader must be informed that from February to April the weather altho' sultry by day is chilly by night, especially before the dawn of the day; so that a man has full occasion for his clothes all over the East, from Aleppo to the Ganges.

dign supplice a few at least of those merciless oppressors, as an example and warning to others; not one thought of asking, and not one of resolving the question, *Whether some drops of guilty blood were not to be shed in retaliation for so much innocent blood that had run by torrents*: all these were matters of small moment, forsooth, and such as admitted delay and deliberation; but to put to death and imprison his brothers, to confine their consorts and children, to keep for years together his own father in a grievous confinement—all these were matters that required the utmost dispatch, and admitted of no deliberation, and no delay; for adjudging all these to instant death, the religious Emperor, that champion of the law, had always at his elbows and in his pay, plenty of doctors and plenty of men skilled in the art of expounding the law. To save appearances, however, and to acquire a character for sanctity and submission to the law, he raised the power of the ecclesiasticks to the utmost height, and mean while made it a point to abstain from the most lawful amusements.

THERE were at all times in the Imperial pay a number of comedians and other imitators and satyrists of human actions: These he continued in his service, and even increased their salaries, but he forbade their singing and dancing; and at the same time he exiled the poets and astrologers from his court: and whereas the accounts of the pay and receipts of the apanage holders were hitherto kept by solar months, according to the course pointed out by the Yonani (Yonian) Calendar (30), he consented that the above method should continue in the above particular part, but forbade it in any other part of the public registers, ordering that they should be kept by lunar months according to the Musselman system. He abstained likewise from prying into futurity according to the rules of the Yonian system; and was so little superstitious on those articles that the tuesday and thursday, those days generally held ominous by all the world,

(30) The author means the Greek, or Ptolomean, Solar System. The ancient Greeks are not known in the eastern books by any other appellation than that of Ionians; and it would be easy to prove that they had themselves no other generic appellation for their own nation; for the *Hellines*, were only the European Greeks:

he set apart for his days of going on a progress, or for setting out on an expedition: he now commenced abstaining from jewels or any rich stuff; rejected any other colour than the white (31) in his own apparel, and he forbade any one of his grantees to be admitted in his presence, that should wear either rich stuffs, jewels, or gaudy colors; so that simplicity became now the etiquette of the court. These alterations which deprived an infinity of families of their bread, were taken to task by the singers and farcers, who having put a richly clothed figure of clay in a coffin, carried it in procession throughout the principal streets, whilst some other took care to throw quantities of dirt at it as it went by; and all this under the very windows of the apartment where they knew the Emperor to be actually sitting. On his asking what was meant by such a shew, he was answered, that singing and rejoicing being dead, the comedians and singers (32), were carrying the corpse to the grave: "*And so they may*" replied he, "*but let them take care, lest, in contrariety to the law of God, the dead should seem to move in his grave, or pretend to speak or sing.*" There is in the capital a standing custom transmitted down from the ancient Emperors of Dehly, and to which all their successors had religiously conformed; namely, that of shewing themselves every day at a certain hour to their subjects from the octagon tower, on the water side, where thousands and ten thousands of both Mussulman and

(31) He was a great admirer of the white colour, (a colour by the bye which seems to be pointed out by the very heat and dustiness of the climate) and he used to say that if it was a colour made up by art, he would reserve it for the Imperial family. The dress at Court, even in winter, is the white; and it is also the general colour used by all the inhabitants of India, high and low. Since the Abdalies have come to cut so great a figure in Hindostan, their dress, which is the Persian, is become of fashion, especially in winter; and of course coloured and rich Stuffs, are admired, especially at the court of Lucknow. However it must be remembered that fine Cotton Stuffs, embroidered or not, are more costly in India than either Silks or Brocade.

(32) The Indians have no other Comedies than such Farces as were known in Europe three hundred years ago, but with this difference that they never mix any thing religious in their performances, and that these exhibitions, on the other hand, were always decent, and often chaste; but since the Abdali or Persian dress, and even the Persian language and modes and customs, have come to give the ton to the Courts of Dehli and Lucknow, many shocking indecencies, mostly of the dissenting kind, are admitted, and much laughed at, in those comedies: moreover, the very dances, which were both graceful and modest in India, have been tainted with that style: So that even women now dance the Caharvara (or Chairmen's dance) a dance which would be a kin to the Spanish fandanga, danced by sailors, were it danced by men mixed with women: for it is these only that dance it, dressed in Chairman's garbs.

Gentoos came to enjoy the sight of their Princes; but of Gentoos especially, many of whom make it a religious duty never to sit down to their meal unless they have seen the reigning Prince first: these Gentoos are called Dursunnees, (33) and this practice had become a very respectable tenet amongst them. This custom he abolished; disobliging, hereby, to no purpose at all, an infinity of loyal subjects. Suppose it to have been an absurd custom in the Gentoos; still it did him no harm: it was a ridiculous tenet of their's, and an absurd one: be it so; but what harm was there in letting it remain amongst so many other absurd tenets and ridiculous practices of their's? at any rate, it was an innocent one.

As to his Doctors, Cazies, and Ecclesiastics, he gave them so much authority, and allowed them such an unbounded sway, that their perpetual interference came at last to obstruct the wheels of government, and to disgust, as well as to deprive of all power, the governors of Provinces, the collectors of the Revenue, the *fodjdars* and the military commanders, all of whom fell into a neglect of the duties incumbent on their stations, and by their inaction gave rise to an infinity of disorders; insomuch that all the ancient rules of government were set aside, all ranks were confounded, and an universal neglect and indifference took place every where. Hashem-aly-Qhan-Qhafi, the historian, relates, that the Emperor having appointed Abdol-Vehhab, a citizen of Ahmed-abad, to the office of Cazi of Cazies, or Supreme Judge, he suffered him to assume so much authority in all matters of revenue and government, that the ministers themselves thought it incumbent upon them to keep fair with such a man, and to husband his good will; after having experienced to their cost, that it was in vain for them to find nothing but artifice and collusion in his conduct, and to accuse him of being intent only on amassing money: and of this we have a very strange instance in the following story, which, as well as so many others, is upon record.

(33) From the ancient word *Dursun*, fight.

WHILST the illustrious Moqhtar-Qhan was governor of Burhamp8r, (and he was a nobleman allied both to the Emperors of Iran and to those of Hindostan), the office of supreme Cazy of that Province was bestowed on Mahmed-Saleh, a man born in the east (34), who being supported by the Emperor's favor and known countenance, became so enterprising, and assumed so much authority, that the Governor-general himself seemed to bend under his authority. Once Moqhtar-Qhan happened to concern himself for a man against whom another had set up an absolute claim for a house, claim which the whole city, as well as the Governor-general, knew to be superannuated. But the judge, by admitting the testimony of two witnesses in opposition to the evidence of the governor and of most of the the grandees of Burhanpoor, adjudged the house to the claimant, were it but to shew his power in opposition to that of the governor's. The latter, unable to withstand the Cazy's decision, retired in disgust. A few days after, another similar cause being brought before the judge, and it being again decided in a similar manner upon the evidence of those two men; the governor, with a number of creditable men stood up and accused them both of perjury; on which both the men acknowledged themselves guilty of the charge. The governor upon this public acknowledgement turned to the judge and said, "*These are those same men upon whose contemptible evidence you have deprived some days ago that poor man of his house, against the general conviction and universal testimony of all the citizens of Burhanp8r.*" The Cazy, aware of Moqhtar-Qhan's intention, became angry, and he answered in these words: "*I suppose, sir, that your intention was only against me, whom you wanted to render ridiculous; but I inform you that you have rendered the law itself ridiculous, as well as it's preposed; and of course, that you have fallen under it's lash, and have merited corporal punishment. The credit of these two witnesses does not seem to be yet affected; it is so far intire, that should those same men stand up now, and give evidence*

Extreme authority and overbearing pride of the Ecclesiastics under that reign.

(34) P8rub. Bengal Bahar and A8d are understood, by that general expression at Dehly; but Bang is the real name of Bengala; and signifies South-East, as Poorub signifies East.

that

“ *that you have drunk wine yesterday, I would condemn you immediately to the*
 “ *chastisement decreed by the law (35).* As to those that prevaricate, the
 “ *law is clear on that head:*” This said, he ordered the beards and whiskers
 of those two men to be shaven, their persons to be seated upon an ass,
 with their faces besmeared with dirt, and turned backwards, and then to
 be confined in prison, after having been carried in derision throughout
 the principal streets and markets of the city. One of those two men poi-
 soned himself on hearing this sentence; and the Cazy resigned his office,
 and retired to his house. This retreat consterned the governor who sen-
 sible how addicted was the Emperor to ecclesiasticks, and apprehensive
 that he might take this affair very ill, thought it expedient to pay a
 visit to the judge, and to engage him to resume his functions with as
 overbearing a sway, and as offensive a haughtiness as ever; nor did he
 reap from all this affair any thing but shame and repentance. Nevertheless
 the Emperor with all his prejudices came to open his eyes at last: finding
 that the ecclesiasticks troubled and overfet the whole administration; and
 that nothing would go forwards unless he employed the Gentoos again in
 his service, a set of men who, either as powerful princes, or as keeping the
 books and registers of the Revenue, were the axle-trees of the wheels
 of government; he contrived to take his revenge of that loyal submissive
 people, by loading them with new impositions, exacting double duties
 from those of that description, and submitting them to a poll tax: in-
 novations which after all gave him a deal of trouble, and produced nothing
 but repentance; for such ordinances require a strong hand, and a great exacti-
 tude, so as to subdue equally the highest and lowest of mankind; and when
 they affect only the impotent, without having any energy over the head-strong
 and refractory, they cease to be laws and they dishonour all government.—
 After all, it must be remembered that as princes and kings are reputed
 the shadows of God, they ought, in humble imitation of his divine attri-
 butes, to accommodate themselves to the dispositions and minds of their

(35) Twenty-five lashes.

subjects, so as to carry an equal hand over them, without exception, without predilection, and without shewing a dislike or hatred to any description of men: such impartiality is incumbent upon Princes, if they intend to be the fathers and cherishers of the people entrusted to their care; and if they really wish that every man should look up to the monarch as to his benevolent forgiving father: this is a duty incumbent upon them, if they wish that every one should think himself happy under their government: for the subject must be cherished in the very palm of the monarch's hand, if the monarch really intends to discharge his duty, and to let the world see, that he feels all the meaning of these verses of Saadi's:

Singular Sentiments of an Asiatic, which ought to be written in letters of gold upon the gates of all the Princes in Europe.

“ That beneficent Being which from its invisible treasury,

“ Feeds, with an equal hand, the believer, the unbeliever, the weak, and the strong”.

Might if it had so pleased, have created men of one opinion or have converted them at one word to one and the same religion. If then conversion is intended, lenity and benevolence, especially to the poor and impotent, will go a great way in reconciling the hearts of mankind. Let then kings and monarchs look day and night into the book containing the actions and sayings of the Prince of Prophets and chief of messengers; let them admire with what sweetness and forbearance that Noble Being used the unbelievers of his time, his personal enemies (36); and how he opened the recesses

(36) This assertion of the Author's, which is strictly true, militates strongly against that envenomed opinion scattered all over Europe, that Musulmanism has been propagated by the sword; and that Mohammed never converted any one otherwise. There is a very short answer to such an assertion, endlessly and most impudently repeated and inculcated all over the world, and it is this; a gross falsehood and a gross error. Never did Mahomet convert any one with the sword, and never did Musulmanism force any one to a conversion. This is so far true that (to omit numerous instances), Ab8-Sofian, uncle to Mahomet, but his mortal enemy, that man whom he took prisoner and whom he appointed to the government of Taif, his native country, died an unbeliever; and moreover rallying at his nephew, now universally acknowledged as missionary from God; and we may remember that the Jews, especially those of Qhaibar, to whom he seems to have returned all the aversion they bore him, those men guilty of so many bloody actions and so many perfidies, never experienced at his hands a harsher treatment, than that of paying to him a third of the product of their date-trees. Here is more: he was poisoned by Djoveira, one of their daughters; he knew it, and never offered any thing more than a confirmation of that tribute. As to the forced conversions said to have been worked by the Musulmanism, all over the world, here is what all the earth deposes. Without mentioning the Maldivas, the Malabar, the Eastern Peninsula, all China, all Tartary, all that endless Archipelago of the Indian ocean, all Habissinia, all Negro-land, &c. &c. countries, where the Musulman arms never penetrated; it may be said with great truth that forced conversions are unknown to the Mahometans; and without

recesses of those stubborn understandings with the key of his goodness and liberality; let them admire how he softened the ulcers of those cankered hearts of their's, with the balsam of his good manners! He gained their hearts at last so far as to convert them into so many friends, whom he associated to himself in his wars and expeditions; but whom he also knew how to keep in such a state of inferiority, that none of them could pretend to an equality with him, although every one of them was invested with some command.

V E R S E S.

“ Never take your own self for the standard to which virtue can rise in a virtuous heart,

“ Nor ever confound *Shir* and *Shin* (37) although they be written alike.

without looking at the present state of Musulman countries, which swarm with churches, Priests and Christians; without minding the Turkish dominions, where there are as many Christians as in the British dominions; without minding Hindostan, where Gentoos are to Musulmans as three or four to one; without recurring to Spain, where the latter Musulmans would have been happy to experience one tenth part of that lenity which they had themselves shewn some centuries before, to those very Christians now become their conquerors; without alledging all that, a Musulman might challenge any man to point out one single village from Tours in France to the Cape of Good Hope and to China, where the Musulmans have forced any one to quit his Religious tenets, in order to embrace their's. As conquerors indeed, they have established their Religion in the conquered countries, because they settled themselves in them, and built Mosques, and married and propagated; just as the English have established their religion in Calcutta, and the French in Pondichery. But will any one, except he be a Divine indeed, come forward and tell us that either the Musulmans or the English have ever laid hold of a man, and told him, *embrace our tenets or we will kill you instantly?* and yet it is exactly what another religion has said, and has been saying to this day to all mankind. The Musulmans being originally, not the scum of a little ignoble obscure people, but conquerors, used constantly to say to the conquered, *be our subjects, and pay us a poll-tax, as such: do you dislike it? then be our brethren, become of the same religion; and down with the tax?* But there is another religion in the world, which has been at all times a scene of blood and massacre, and which would be so to this very day, had not mankind become extremely cold and indifferent on that article; that religion, so early as ninety years after its foundation, had, even then, men who would strike a Roman governor sacrificing to *Jupiter Optumus Maximus*, and reproach him with that act of allegiance. It had men who so early as Diocletian's time could in revenge set on fire an Emperor's palace, and in time massacre his consort and sisters and children: that religion never said to any one, *be our brethren, or pay us a tribute, and remain as you are;* but it has been saying for seventeen hundred years together: *Throw away your idols, and take our's, or we will cut your throats immancably;* and this merciless sentence has been loudly and over and over thundered out to all mankind from the Baltic to the Aller, in Saxony; and from England and France, to America and to India: it has been thundered out to an infinity of people who would have been glad to keep their religion on paying a tribute, on paying it double and triple. No wonder then if a Musulman, of some learning and knowledge, has told us more than once, (and we have been only repeating his own reasoning), that after having carefully examined the European assertion, he could not find a single village where the Mahometan religion might have been introduced by the sword or by artifice; whereas, neither his reading nor memory could afford him one single instance where the other religion has been propagated otherwise.

(37) These words are witten alike in Persian; and signify, the one *Milk*, and the other *Tyger* or *Lyon*.

ONE would think that a Prince so zealous for a religion that recommends meekness, and enforces mercy, must have been remarkably tender-hearted; and here are some instances of that tenderness of heart: he kept his eldest son confined for years together for no other reason, but because that young unexperienced Prince had joined Soltan-Shudjah, his maternal uncle, in his wars of Bengal, in hopes of becoming his son-in-law. It is true that the Prince repented of his rashness, and came back of himself; but it is no less true that he was punished with a severe confinement; and this was also the usage offered to his other son, Sultan Muäzzem, since Bahader-Shah, who was accused of intriguing with Soltan-Ab81-Hafen, surnamed Nana-Shah, king of Haider-abad: the Prince, with his sons and family, and some of his trustiest eunuchs, was confined for a number of years; and in this long confinement he suffered numberless affronts and hardships, in which Nor-en-Neffa-Begum, his beloved, his sensible and learned consort, was joined to him; for she would not part with her husband on any terms. His eunuchs underwent a variety of hard usage and even torments, to make them confess their master's guilt; but as nothing could be proved that way, and nothing came out of their mouths, he rightly concluded that he would be accused of injustice and hardness of heart: he sent the Prince word that he had better confess his misdemeanors, and ask his pardon, as such a confession would conduce to his safety in this world and the other. The Prince with an admirable presence of mind answered, directly, *That although it was true that man never could repay the obligations he had to the Divine Goodness, and of course was guilty and defective, yet as he was not conscious of the crime laid to his charge, he could not of course confess himself guilty of it.* The father was shocked at this answer; and his resentment rising to a pitch, he increased the rigours of his son's confinement, and carried matters so far, that the Prince was debarred the use of suitable clothes and aliments, and condemned to live without paring his nails, shaving his head, clipping his beard, or bathing his body; so that for a length of time, he was himself, with his whole family, obliged to undergo these hardships.

THIS

THIS suspicious temper seemed to be the basis of the Emperor's mind and it alienated every heart. He had inherited a number of generals and ministers that had been formed by his father, the illustrious Shah-Djehah, that second lord of the conjunction: they were all men of merit and abilities, such as had repeatedly given proofs of an undaunted bravery, and an inviolable fidelity; such in one word as have their names living to this day in the recording pages of history: even these were ill used by that suspicious ungrateful man; nor is there any single one amongst them, that has been happy under his government: so far from it, that they were perpetually exposed to that suspicious temper of his, which took umbrage at every thing, and discontented all the world. Hence the reason why he never succeeded fully in any one of his undertakings; and why by the connivance and secret disinclination of his generals, he often suffered the most disgraceful checks, and the most shameful miscarriages; and all that by his own fault; for whatever he saw was of his own seeking. Some neglects and ruinous mistakes of his are recorded at length in Hashem-aaly-Qhan-Qhafi's history; but we have many instances of his unforgiving vindictive temper.

GENEROSITY, magnificence, and compassion to strangers, are qualities so conspicuous in the characters of the Emperors of the Sefi-Race (38), (whose tombs may be ever resplendent with the rays of divine mercy!) that they are become a matter of encomium and admiration to all the world; insomuch that none of their successors no more than any of their predecessors, can come up to them in those heavenly qualifications, which they have constantly exercised towards several kings and princes of divers nations; history is, to their eternal honor, full of such instances of their benignity; nor is a man in Hindostan uninformed of the extreme goodness and compassion shewn by them to some refugee princes of the family of Babr, and especially to Homäy8n. Shah-Soleiman himself

(38) The Kings of Persia, of the Sefy Family.

(father to Soltan-Shah-Hoffein (39), although a prince negligent, incapable, sanguinary, and immersed in all the abominations of daily crapule and endless debauch, nevertheless approved himself a great Monarch, when he received the Prince Ecber, Son to Aoreng-Zib, with a cordiality, and a generosity which nothing could equal but the father's baseness of mind, and his hardness of heart to his own son, or the perfidy of the heretical prince of Mascat to his royal guest. All these events are mentioned at length by Hashem-Aly-Qhan-Qhafi, who seems anxious to hang every one of them as so many pendants to the ears of attentive posterity. Whilst Aoreng-Zib treated his own offspring in such a manner, it is curious to see what usage he offered to some Gentoo Princes, who had rendered him some services, but to whose race, as well to all Gentoos whatever he had a natural antipathy. Radja Djefvent-Rat-hor, who had always been an ambitious restless Prince, and was more hated by him than any other Gentoo, became a great object of favor for him at once: hearing that he was come out of Gudjrat to Dara-Shecoh's assistance, and that he had engaged him to try his fate in another battle in Adjmir, he prevailed upon him, by Radja Djehy-Sing's interposition, to quit the Prince's party; and for this worthy proceeding of his he was rewarded with the military grade of seven thousand horses, and the rich government of Gudjrat with permission of never coming to court. This Radja, on the cessation of the troubles in Decan, was appointed to the command of an expedition in Cab81, where the officers under him being all Radjp8ts, equally bold and imprudent, two of them that happened to be his own sons, quitted the army without leave from Emir-Qhan, the governor of the Province, and on their return home presented themselves to the ferry on the Atek, (40), where being refused admittance, as they

(39) Shah-Soltan-Husseini, a weak prince, was the last of the Sefi family, that reigned over all Iran. He was dethroned and confined by Mir-Mahm8d, the Afghan, whose family was itself expelled by Tahmasp-c8ly-Qhan, alias Nadyr-Shah.

(40) Atec, or Hindus, so called from Atecna, to stop or be stopped: see Note 117, Section XVI, and Note 81, Section I.

had no pass, they, like thoughtless young men, picked up a quarrel with the guards, and passed by force. But as Shah-Djehan-abad lay full in their way to their homes, no sooner had they set a foot in its territory, than they were stopped by an imperial command, whilst the Cutval with a body of troops received an order to surround them, and to prevent their flight. After some days, the commanders and officers that were with those Princes, petitioned for leave to go on with their journey and to return home; and this favor, they easily obtained from the Emperor, who thought their departure so much the better for his design, as they would leave behind, as he thought, the children and consorts of the two Radjas, surrounded by his own troops. The officers having obtained leave, dressed the consorts of the two Gentoo Princes in men's clothes, and his two sons like two slave-boys; and taking them in their retinue as so many menial servants, they left in their stead, some slave-boys dressed like Princes, and some waiting-maids, with the apparel and jewels of real Ranies or princesses: at the same time a strong guard of trusty Radjp8ts being ordered to watch round the tents where the pretended Princes and Princesses were kept, they set out with the real ones, after having recommended to the Radjp8t guard to defend them manfully, should they be demanded; and to protract the engagement so as to afford to themselves that were setting out, at least a delay of five or six hours: after which time they might surrender their charge, as by that time the real Princes and Princesses would be already far off. This being agreed to, they departed; and as soon as they were thought at a distance, orders came for bringing the Princesses to the Seraglio, and for reducing the young Princes to slavery. But by this time the secret had taken vent, and troops had been sent after the run-aways, although in vain. Mean while the Radjp8t guard, after protracting the time under several pretences, at last refused to resign their charge, and in fact did not resign it, but after fighting valiantly, untill they were all slain or wounded. In this manner their charge was taken possession of, the women were put in the service

ervice of some of the ladies of the Imperial Sanctuary, and the boys received against their will the seal of Musulmanism (41); and for a length

(41) It is surprising that a man so well informed as our Author should mention circumcision as the seal of Musulmanism: it is not so; nor is there one single word about it in the Coran: it was barely an old custom amongst the Arabs, that had in Mahomet's time two or three thousand years of antiquity. The Author could not know that there are nations that use circumcision, together with baptism; for instance, the Habishians; and many others that have that bloody rite, without so much as having heard of Musulmanism; and such are the Hottentots and some Americans, and even the Islanders of the South Sea; nay the christians themselves, a hundred and fifty years after their appearance in the world, used throughout all Syria to circumcise as well as to baptize their Profelytes: two rites equally common throughout all antiquity to several nations as well as to the Jews: but what proves beyond any doubt how little circumcision can be the seal of Musulmanism, is the variations under which it appears amongst the Arabians themselves, to say nothing of others. There are to the translator's knowledge four different kinds of circumcision amongst them; and of this, he should never have suspected any thing, but for an adventure that happened in 1769, during his two years residence at Mecca. A girl just married, that lived in the story above him, leapt out of her bed at day-break, and running down stairs in the shop below, with every demonstration of contempt, horror, and amazement, she screamed out that her Husband was a Nassara, or a Nazarean, (a Christian), and lamented her hard fate. This Nassara was no less a man than Sheh-Abbass-Bedavi, our instructor in the rites of Pilgrimage. He was forty years of age, born at Mecca, and this was his second wife. This uproar having brought about two hundred persons of all ages and sexes, within or about the shop, who all made a joke of the matter, and cracked high flavour sarcasms upon it; I learned from several amongst them, (and two or three were so circumcised) that a few tribes in the deserts of Nadjd, west of Mecca, (where the bride was born and bred) had a particular circumcision peculiar to themselves; and this deserves a description, on the supposition that the reader knows already some thing of the circumcision used in India) that circumcision is not about the prepuce: it is about the whole pubis, which it embraces in this manner: a man belonging to the family bids the youth (and he must be a Pubere) sit down under a tree upon a stone, and then with a razor or the point of a sharp knife, he marks into the skin a bloody line that circumscribes the top and lateral parts of the pubis, down to the lateral parts of the thigh which are close to the scrotum. This done, he seizes the two corners with both his hands, and tears the whole down, so as to leave the pubis, the penis, great part of the scrotum, and part of the thighs bare. Good God!—is that credible? it is affirmed so, by hundreds of people that have no interest in imposing: is it practicable without killing the patient? the translator has seen three such Arabs, and has heard of thousands; nor is it possible to impose such a tale on people that have a thousand times a year an opportunity of verifying the truth of it. But this is not all: all this while the youth has a sword in one hand, and a spear in the other, with the point fixed on his naked foot, whilst all the men and all the women of the family, or village (nor are the virgins excluded) stand assembled about his person, and the orator or poet of the clan (for each clan has one) addresses him in these words: "No groan: no tear: take care that thy uncle once killed a lion, body to body; and that being sent on a message to such a tribe, his provisions failed, and he travelled on five days together without eating, and two days without drinking: thy father was a great warrior: he slew in battle such a one and such a one, wounded such a one, the famous Horseman. Having gone on an expedition towards Bufforah, he was caught by the Governor of that place, who ordered twenty candles to be run in several parts of his flesh, where they were left burning: thy brave father did not utter a single groan, and he reproved your elder brother for so doing; and that brother held his tongue." When the ceremony is over, the youth stands up, brandishes his spear, and is caught in the arms of the women, who carry him to an entertainment in the middle of the acclamations of the whole assembly. Mr. Francis Scott, our friend, who had made a dozen of voyages to several parts of Arabia, and spoke Arabic fluently, knew that singular custom; but he rendered it more credible and less painful: he said that the penis being previously circumcised as usual, the pubis, and only the pubis, was torn away with the ceremonies above. This is not all: Girls are also circumcised in that manner among those of that clan. (and indeed there is nothing strange in that; for women are circumcised both

in

length of time a rumour prevailed that these were the real Princes and Princesses, and that the others were the counterfeit ones, set up on purpose to save Radja Djefvent-Sing's honor.

BE it as it will, Aoreng-Zib, who could not bear to have been outwitted, but who pretended to act only by a principle of religion, undertook an expedition against Dj8dëi-p8r, the capital and original country of the Radjahs of the Rat-hor family, and of the ancestors of Djefvent's. The neighboring Radja of Dj8dëi-p8r thinking his honor concerned in protecting the consorts and children of Radja Djefvent's, raised troops, and put himself upon his defense. The emperor hearing of this, sent him word that he had better discharge the arrears due upon his poll-tax and dismiss from his territories the consorts and children of Radja-Djefvent's; the Radja at first seemed inclined to comply, and he sent Ambassadors to camp; who took care to soothe the Emperor and to make him so easy, that in a few days he returned to his capital, leaving Qhan-Djhan with a body of troops, and orders to receive the promised money, and to bring the country of Dj8dëi-p8r under controul. But as soon as he was gone, the Radja continued as refractory as ever. The Emperor extremely incensed quitted the capital a second time, and marched again into Adjmir against the Gentoo Prince. He also sent letters to Sultan-Muäzzem his eldest son, who governed the Decan, requiring him to come to court in post: and another such a command was dispatched to Azem-Shah, who commanded in Bengal. Mean while the Imperial Prince Acber, who was at court, and in the very prime of his youth, received orders to march against the Radja; and the Prince's tutor Shah-C8ly-Qhan, having requested to lead the

in Egypt and in Habissinia). But although the Translator had an opportunity of observing an old woman of that clan bathing at Medina, and he took care in a scuffle to overset a young woman of the same clan, he could not distinguish whether the absence so remarkable in them, was owing to nature or to art; nor was this very difficult; for the young woman bore the court-dress of her desert clan: a short Smock that went no lower than the navel, and a short Petticoat, (id est Apron) both being of the best manufacture the desert furnished (id est, of goat's Skin prepared.

van-

van-guard, was decorated with an augmentation of his military grade, and the surname of Betor-Qhan; at the same time a number of veterans commanded by officers of character, were ordered to attend him; and at last he was appointed commander in chief of the expedition. The new General attacked the Rajp8ts, beat them every where, pursued them a long time, and reduced the nation to extremities; and it was at this very time that Soltan-Muäzzem arrived at camp. He was ordered to march against a party of Radjp8ts that had fortified themselves at the reservoir of Rana-Sakur, distant about eight cosses from the Imperial camp. The other Imperial Prince, Azem-Shah, arriving mean while, he was ordered to march against another party of Radjp8ts. The Rana, finding himself hard pressed, made up matters by an agreement, and at the same time he insinuated his notions so well in the young Prince's mind, that he engaged him to revolt against his own father, against whom he undertook to support him immediately with an army of thirty thousand Radjp8t horses.

PRINCE ACBER, who had his own father's example before his eyes, thought it was very easy to revolt, and as easy to maintain a revolt against him. But Soltan-Muäzzem, who was attached to the young prince his brother, and had heard some thing of his design, wrote him a short letter of advice and reprimand; and he at the same time dispatched a supplication to the Emperor, to request his paying some attention to the intrigues of the Radjp8ts, who might avail themselves of the young prince's youth and inexperience to engage him into some improper steps. The Emperor who had a perfect reliance on Prince Acber's character, answered Soltan-Muäzzem in these severe terms: "*I hope that God Almighty shall forgive you this enormous calumny, and afford you time to repent of it, so as that you may one day firmly walk upon the bridge of Serat (42), in token of his having grant-*

Prince Acber, younger son to Aoreng-zib, revolts against his father.

(42) The Bridge of Serat is represented as a keen sharp blade stretching archways over the Abyss of Hell, upon which the justs will walk steadily, and reach the gates of bliss that will be seen open beyond the bridge; but those who shall be reproached by their own consciences, shall walk tremblingly, and at last shall drop down into the gulph below.

*"ed you a pardon for this disposition of your's to listen to rumours disad-
 vantageous to others."* This was the letter he wrote to his eldest son; but
 a little after he became necessarily convinced of his mistake, when he heard
 that the Prince Acber had assumed the crown, struck money in his name,
 created his tutor, Bet-hor-Qhan, a commander of seven thousand horses,
 and promoted every one of the commanders and lords that were with him
 to grades and employments in the Empire. Then he felt his own danger,
 the more so, as now he had about himself not one man of character but
 Affed-Qhan and Behre-mend-Qhan, with about eight hundred horses, and
 some clerks of the treasury; he therefore sent an order to Soltan-Muäzzem
 to come immediatly with his troops. The Prince on this order, left his
 consort and family in his camp, recommending them to God Almighty,
 and setting out for court with his two sons and a body of ten thousand horses,
 he arrived near the Imperial camp; where the Emperor, who remembered
 how he had used his own father, conceived suspicions against his eldest son,
 and directly sent him an order to leave his troops behind, and to come to the
 presence, alone, with his two sons. He at the same time ordered all his artil-
 lery to be pointed against his troops. The Prince complied with the order
 punctually; and the Emperor being now so strongly reinforced, turned his
 views towards Prince Acber's people; and by dint of threats and promises, he
 engaged numbers of them to return to their allegiance. Fortune favoured
 him so far, that his summons had almost a general effect; fear seized both
 Prince Acber and his concellers, and they all thought of escaping by flight.
 But mean while an order having been dispatched to the neighbouring go-
 vernors and fodjdars to bring him prisoner, he suffered incredible hardships
 in flying day and night; and after a variety of adventures, he arrived at last
 at the court of Simba-dji, son and successor to Seva-dji, the Marhatta
 Prince. Simba-dji received him kindly, and assigned him a large pension;
 but as his behaviour in other respects was not answerable to his guest's
 Imperial rank, the latter passed his time disagreeably, and pined away in
 discontent.

Is abandoned
by his troops.

Seeks an asy-
lum with the
Marhatta Em-
peror Simba-dji.

THE Emperor informed of the asylum he had afforded his son, and fatigued besides with the continual complaints sent by the governors of Decan against the inroads and violences of those free-booters, resolved to undertake an expedition against them with the double view of recovering his son, and of punishing the Gentoo Prince. He called this *a sacred war*, undertaken against intractable infidels; and setting out in the twenty first year of his reign, which answers to the year one thousand and ninety two of the Hedjra, he arrived in Decan, from whence he detached Yti-cad-Qhan, son to his Vizir, Affed-Qhan, with a numerous army of veterans and an immense artillery: his orders were to subdue Simba, and to bring Acber; for such were his proper words. The Prince become now fearful for his safety and life, found means with about two hundred men that remained to him to make his way good to the sea side, where having procured a ship, he embarked with all his followers, and fled towards the country of Iran. In his navigation thither he met with a storm that disabled his ship, put his life in great danger, and after exposing him to an infinity of hardships, forced him to take shelter in the harbour of Mascat. The Imam, or Prince of Mascat, at first received him with honor and kindness; but in the sequel he seized on his person, and put him under a guard: he at the same time wrote to the Emperor to inform him that he had such a person in his hands, and that he might be prevailed upon to surrender it, on several conditions, which he specified; two of which were, the sending of a sum of five lacs of rupees as a present; and the granting a general exemption of duties for ever to all the Mascatian vessels that frequented the ports of India. The Musulman Emperor, that prince jealous of the honor of the law, that champion of religion, was not ashamed to enter into that shameful treaty with that apostate heretick (43), and to grant him all his demands. He sent an

Quits the Mar-
hatta court, and
flies beyond the
sea.

Is shamefully
used by the king
of Muscat.

(43) The Mascatians are of a particular sect, equally condemned by both Sunnies and Shyais, but very brave, and so good seamen, as to have more than once beaten the Portuguese at sea, and made conquests on them in India, in this century; in short they are a naval power in the Indian seas; and possibly, it is to their sea-faring way of life and to the mercantile genius which it fosters and nurses up, that we owe this singular request in favor of the Mascatian traders. This is the first time that an Eastern Prince has thought of procuring to his subjects an advantage in that line.

order

order to the governor of Surat, informing him of the general exemption granted to the Macsatian vessels, and commanding him to send a ship to Mascat, commanded by an able seaman, for the purpose of bringing up the Prince prisoner. The governor cast his eyes upon one Hadji-Fázul, a man who enjoyed the command of an Imperial ship by hereditary right, and who having made many voyages in Arabia, was thoroughly acquainted with those parts. The man departed; but hearing abroad, that Shah-Soltan-Soleïman, the Sefian, Emperor of Iran, (whose tomb may for ever be illuminated by the rays of Divine mercy!) had granted an asylum to the fugitive prince, and had used him with the most princely kindness, he thought proper to come back. The detail of this surprising revolution is as follows.

THE Iranian Emperor was informed that a Prince of the Babrian blood having fled from his father's resentment, had resolved to take shelter in Iran; but that being forced into the harbour of Mascat by a tempest that had put his life in imminent danger, he had met with the most unworthy usage: the Imam, or sovereign of that country, having had the inhumanity to cast him in prison, and then the baseness to enter into a treaty for selling the unfortunate youth to his incensed father: the Sefian Emperor no sooner was informed of all the circumstances relative to this strange adventure, than he thought his honor concerned in rescuing a prince that had been seeking an asylum in his dominions. His anger, that anger capable to set the universe in a flame, kindled at the baseness and treacherous conduct of the Mascatian prince; and he sent him a letter and message to this purport: "*That he had a numerous army, ready to chastise him for his infamous conduct; and that if he delayed a moment to send to his court a prince who was under the safeguard of his name, or neglected to do it with the utmost honor and attention, he might rest assured that the army of Iran would cross over, put to fire and sword every part of his country, without distinction of age or sex, and destroy his own person, with his whole family.*" The Mascatian king

king on receiving such a threatening letter, was frightened beyond his wits: he altered his behaviour to the prince, treated him with the utmost respect and honor; and having got him embarked in a ship of his own, with many presents, and every necessary piece of furniture for so great a prince, he sent him over to Benderi-abbas (44). There the prince landed, and he immediately dispatched to Isfahan, the capital of Iran, one of his followers, called Mohammed-Hibrahim, who was a very sensible well-behaved man. His orders were to repair in all speed to the foot of that second Solomon's throne, and to return to the Sefian emperor his cordial thanks for his having so strongly concerned himself in restoring a forlorn prince to liberty and safety. Shah-Sultan-Suleïman having heard Mahmed-Hibrahim with the utmost benignity, dismissed him to his master, and got him accompanied by Mahmed-Haschem-Qhan, the Tabrizian, a lord of his court, with orders to bring the Prince with the utmost honor and deference, without sparing, in the journey, any thing that might conduce to his ease, convenience, or pleasure. His orders were to treat him in all respects, as his imperial guest; and as he came to hear that the territory of Benderi-abbas produced certain fruits extremely agreeable to Hindians, such as Ambas (45) and Anannases, and likewise a certain leaf called Paan, without the use of which those people became uneasy; an imperial order was dispatched to the governor of Benderi-abbas to take care, not only to furnish the Prince with those productions during his stay in that port, but likewise to send daily a sufficiency for his household, during his voyage to court, and during his sojourn at the capital. His Majesty had the attention to send secretly with the envoy, a painter, so admirable in his art of drawing likenesses, that he seemed to work by some magical power that exceeded the extent of human capacity. He had orders to examine the Prince with as much

(44) Benderi-abbas, alias Camran or Gambron, is over against Mascot, and on the Persian shore, a place as horribly hot as Mascot itself, but more unhealthy.

(45) Mangoes, Pine-apples, and Betel: three words unknown to the Indians, as being coined by the Europeans.

attention as secrecy, and to send his picture to court; the Iranian monarch wishing to guess at the real character of his mind, by the gait of his body, and the features of his face; after which only he intended to give him audience.

After a long voyage the introducer Mahmed-Hashem-Qhan the Tabrizian arrived at Benderi-Abbass, where he invited the Prince to court, as he had taken every care imaginable to render the voyage, not only less irksome, but even pleasing. Being arrived at three coffes from Isfahan, he landed the Prince in a royal garden and seat. This was no sooner known to Shah-Sulëiman, that to show his high regard for his guest, he repaired thither to make him a visit. The Prince went out of the garden and park to see him alight, and he presented him with three pieces of jewel, one of diamonds, the other of rubies, and the third of emeralds; all of exquisite beauty, and of an immense value. These he presented in compliance with the custom of travellers, who at their return home make small presents to their friends. The Monarch to oblige his guest, accepted the present; and to do him honor, he stuck the three pieces of jewel into his turban; after which he embraced him with the utmost kindness, and then seating himself, he asked him about his health and about his voyage: after the visit, he invited the Prince to the Palace prepared for him in the city; and here also he displayed his magnificence as well as his hospitality. The road between had been covered with brocade, velvet, and Machlibender-chints (46), which in those countries bear a high price, and are in high esteem: and it was upon this kind of pavement that the Monarch and the Prince proceeded on horseback.

Who receives
him with the ut-
most hospitality.

(46) Calicoes of Masulipatam. But this town is not the only place famous for its painted Linen: the whole coast of Coromandel in a length of two hundred coffes is so; and this beauty and adherence of the colours is owing to the peculiarity of the waters, some of which are admirable for the reds, some for the blues, &c. Painted Linen is made all over Hindostan, and of late in great quantities at Agra, Ferohabad and Lucnow. But G8djrat equals Masulipatam, which last word, by the bye, ought to be written Matchli-patan, (Fish town,) because of a Whale that happened to be stranded there a hundred and fifty years ago.

The Monarch's horse went on quietly and at an easy pace; but the Prince's horse proved extremely mettlesome, and at last turned so unruly as to trouble the whole cavalcade. This being observed by the grand equerry, he brought him another horse; and the Prince vaulting with agility from the one to the other, excited the admiration of the by-standers, and the applause of the Monarch. Shah-Soleïman, being by this time arrived at a forked street, stopped short, and went to his royal seat, after having requested the Prince to accept of the lodgings that had been fitted up for him, and which proved to be a palace filled with every necessary and every conveniency for himself and for his retinue. The next day the Monarch took again the trouble of making the Prince a visit in his new lodgings, from whence, after a short pause, he brought him to the royal palace, where he made him sit on a mesned apart, shewed him every mark of honor and regard, and entertained him the whole day; at the end of which he dismissed him to his own lodgings, assigning for his subsistence a plentiful pension. After a certain time the Prince expressed a desire of returning to Hindia, and a hope that he would be assisted with a body of troops. The Monarch answered; "*Expect nothing of that kind from me, so long as your father shall be alive. After his death, when the matter shall come to be debated between your brothers, I shall not think myself exempted from obliging and assisting you*".

AFTER such a narrative (and there are some others that will follow) the candid reader shall have it now in his power to form a judgement of Aoreng-zib, of the Prince of Muscat, of the Monarch of Iran, and of some others. He will soon find the nobility or baseness of each character, and the villainess and infamy of each individual; and will thenceforth conclude for himself, and make his choice of what models he intends for his pattern, and what for his detestation and contempt. After this digression, which we have thought of use, nothing remains now for us, but to return to our history, and to the Radjp8t Princes.

THIS

THIS escape of the consorts, and children of Radja Djesvent-Sing's (escape that did so much honour to the bravery and fidelity of the Radp8ts;) and this protection afforded him by the Ranna, added to the fatal consequences to which it gave birth, incensed Aoreng-zib to such a high degree that he set out for Adjmir with an intention to destroy the Ranna's family: his hatred to Gentoos rose now to a pitch; so that he ordered the capitulation-tax (47) to be raised rigorously, sent circular orders for that purpose throughout all the provinces, and enforced his commands with great asperity, both in his camp and capital. As the Gentoos in that city amounted to several lacs, many thousands amongst whom were too poor to afford the tax, they assembled in vast multitudes under the place where they knew the Emperor was sitting, and they set up a plaintive tone of voice, which by degrees rose to the cupola of heaven. Aoreng-zib, so far from granting their request, did not so much as take notice of their sobs and complaints. The Gentoos consterned, but not without hopes, waited for the next Friday, when the Emperor was to go, as usual, to perform his devotions at the cathedral; and then they assembled by ten thousands and by lacs, so as to fill up all the space betwixt the gate of the citadel and the great mosque, together with the adjacent streets and lanes. The passage being intirely barred up, cries, sobs, and lamentations, commenced on all sides; and little by little they rose to the highest skies. No efforts were wanting to clear up the way; and the guards striking mercilessly over heads and hands maimed and wounded numbers of people; for all that, no passage could be cleared; and no sooner had the moving throne advanced the length of two yards, than it was stopped short again. At last it became equally impossible to move backwards or forwards, from the spot where it was jammed in; nor could the Emperor move in his own throne, nor any man from his place; and yet the throng seemed to increase, and it pressed so hard as

The capitulation-tax enforced by Aoreng-zib, against the Hindoos.

Their very singular and respectful way of complaining of it.

(47) One must not mistake so far the case as to suppose this tax any ways comparable to what it has been in England, and still less to what it is in France. Musulmen know nothing of such amazing taxes. See note 109, Section Second.

to render respiration difficult. The Emperor, after pausing a while, called for a number of lofty elephants, which carry the Imperial streamers and insignia, and had gone forwards; he also commanded the elephants destined for the Imperial person, and he directed that they should be brought together, and made to force a passage by forming several ranks. The order being executed, numbers of people were under-trodden by the elephants or wounded by the horses, grown unruly; the rest fled to their homes, and expecting nothing from the Emperor's compassion, submitted to their fate, and paid the tax. All this mercilessness, and all this hardness of heart, proved of little avail, and for very little purpose. His obstinate wars in Decan necessarily slackened the stiffness of the law: nor did those very bloody battles, and very laborious expeditions of his, produce any very great advantage to the empire; for no man will attribute to the Emperor the battles fought, and the conquests made, in Decan, in Bengal and in Asham, by those immortal lieutenants of his; the heroes of the age, all commanders equally intrepid and prudent; for instance Qhan-Djehan-Cocal-tash, the Lord of Lords; Muázzem the Mogul; the Afghans Dilir-Qhan, Agher-Quhan, and Dä8d-Qhan the Corëishy; and so many others who every where exhibited feats of prowess, that would have attracted the admiration of any age. All these were disgusted one after another, on seeing the little notice taken of their services; and the consequence of that disgust and universal discontent was, that several of his armies met with the most shameful and unaccountable defeats; such indeed as it is difficult and improper to mention at length. Hence the reason why we find so great a chasm after the first ten years of that Prince's history, the analysts of his reign having been forbidden in the tenth year of it to continue their chronicles; and hence the reason why after those ten years we find no detail of many parts of that long reign.

It is those very parts which the historian Hashem-Aly-Qhan-Qháfi seems just to indicate, which I have expressly selected for publication, and

which I shall mention here, in his own words, to save my own credit; they are as follow; *Although the analysts of those times were forbidden to continue in their chronicles the rest of that religious, that equitable, Emperor's history, after those ten years; nevertheless, some by-standers, and especially Mustâed-Qhan, used to commit secretly to writing some of the events relative to the wars in Decan, passing slightly over the blameable parts of his conduct, and insisting only upon conquests of cities and fortresses, and upon victories; but as this is far from filling up the chasm of forty remaining years; I have endeavored to make up the deficiency by assembling from all parts, and bringing together in one point of view, some scattered members of knowledge and intelligence transmitted to posterity by by-standers equally impartial and clear-sighted. And as notwithstanding that, I find no particular account of the second ten years of that incomparable Emperor's reign, such at least as is digested in months and years; and it is impossible of course to bring such a disjointed part into regular order; I have endeavored to give some account of this second decade as far as the nineteenth year, by comparing together the gazettes sent to the presence, with the annals of several neighbouring provinces, as drawn up by witnesses present and unconcerned; and it is from such materials, that I shall endeavour to continue this historical account, taking it up at the twentieth year of that reign.*

Qhan-Djehan, after his expedition of Hâiderabad, was disgraced, and he retired to his Djaghiry lands, where he died of a broken heart. That general had chastised the Marbattas in such a manner, as to compel them to a quiet submissive behaviour, for some time before the arrival of the Emperor's victorious standards in those parts. Yet it hapened that after the arrival of such numerous forces with the Emperor himself at their head; after the conquest of so many fortresses and cities; after spending so many corors of money, and full twenty six years of his life, in that expedition; those countries at his death were more unsettled than ever; and those infidels, so often beaten and vanquished, were become more warlike and more insolent than ever:

ever: they were settling their abodes upon the antient territory of the Empire, and very often giving his armies shameful defeats, which cannot be attributed to any thing, but to that general discontent, and that universal disgust, that had spread among his officers and ministers: disgraces which after having obscured the glory of his armies under his eyes, had extended to more distant provinces with a contagion and a rapidity hardly to be conceived; although such disgraces had never happened to Qhan-Djehan, nor had he ever suffered such a defeat, as might affect his character, or endanger his honor. Nothing in that general's history, but famous battles, and glorious engagements. Besides his expeditions against the kings of Bidja-p8r and Häider-abad, we see one continual series of heroical exertions, and so much generalship and personal prowess, as to amaze the historians as well as the readers. The former relate of that general, that although he laboured then under the imputation of some underhand dealing with the Marbattas, he gave those insolent free-booters two defeats, that deserve to be recorded in the historical page. He was gone upon an expedition against them, and had advanced about forty or fifty cosses in their country, leaving the city of Aoreng-abad in his rear; when two of Simbadji's generals, as great pillagers as ever existed, gave him the slip; and with thirty thousand horses, as famished of booty and plunder as themselves, they advanced to the very gates of that city, with a firm resolution to plunder it. That populous city trembled, and saw it's suburbs plundered and sacked. Qhan-Djehan informed of their intention, turned about, and followed them with so much expedition, that when he overtook them, he had no more than two thousand horses with him. With these few he attacked vigorously, without giving time to the enemy to reconnoitre his numbers; and a bloody engagement taking place, he was performing wonders, and strewing the field with dead, when the rest of his troops arrived, and a general massacre commenced; it was remarked that wherever he fell, he never failed to mow down every thing about him. Whilst he was yet engaged with only his two thousand horses, the Marbattas found out his small numbers; and they were so encouraged by the discovery, that they attacked him repeatedly, and with so much

Brilliant character of Qhan-Djehan.

The famous
battle of Herfol.

much vigor, that when his other troops arrived, he had only sixty troopers about his person: amongst these was Agher-Qhan with his two or three brothers, and his son; and yet with these sixty men he was still a dangerous enemy; he detached himself from that small troop, overtook his own run-aways, and by encouraging them with the voice and hand, he brought them back to the field, and engaged them to stand by him. It was at this time that his other troops overtook him; at which sight even those that had fled far off, came back of themselves, and joined in the general massacre: it is this battle which is so famous all over those parts to this day, and is talked of with admiration all over Hindostan under the name of The Battle of Herfol. The massacre was so general, and the number of Marhatta dead bodies so incredible, that a great number of towers and pyramids were raised with their heads made up with moistened clay, all round the city of Aorengabad. A vast number of cart-loads of Marhatta spears and bucklers was at the same time sent into the Citadel, together with an infinity of mares (48).

THE second battle is recounted in this manner: He was encamped at about thirty cosses distance from Aorengabad, over against the Marhatta army, and ready to attack them, when he heard that a numerous cavalry had wheeled round his rear, and had marched streight to that city, in hopes of finding it defenceless and an easy prey. Qhan-Djehan leaving his son to oppose the enemy at the head of twenty thousand horses, set out with a select body, and one of the Radjahs that were in his camp. With these he measured thiriy-five cosses in thirty hours, and arrived at about one o'clock in the morning within two cosses of the Marhatta cavalry, by which time he had no more than seven hundred troops about his person. The moment was critical—"if we wait till the day opens upon us," said he to the Radja, "and expose our small numbers to the full view of the Marhatta cavalry, they will make

(48) Although a vast number of Musulmen that serve in the Marhatta armies, make use of horses, no genuine Gentoo Marhatta will serve, but upon a mare. They observe that they are fitter for an ambuscade, because they never neigh at the sight or smell of each other or of a horse: that they are quieter, and bear fatigue better; add to this that being in general followed by their foal, this last is early inured to long marches, fatiguing journeys, and scanty fare.

" cheap of us, and will fall upon us as upon a certain prey. The best thing we can
 " do is this: do you take all our drums and music, and stay here with those Radja-
 " p8ts that have kept pace with us, whilst our people shall be coming by
 " detached troops; these you are to assemble in a compact body: mean while I
 " am going to fall upon that cavalry fast asleep, and make no doubt but I shall
 " do a great deal of execution amongst them; but these people will be up by the
 " dawn of the day, and will probably endeavor to hem me in on all sides: in that
 " case, I shall retreat towards you, with all those pursuers at my back; and
 " your business will be then to display all our standards, make as much noise
 " as you can with our music, and with your compact body to fall upon those
 " people whom their pursuit shall have put in disorder."

This said, he fell upon the Marbattas at about three o'clock in the morning,
 and killed an infinity of men, before they had time to awake and to recollect
 themselves; nor was any thing heard but the words, " take and kill." At
 day-break the smallness of his numbers becoming apparent, the Marbatta general,
 who had by this time assembled sixteen thousand horse, fell on all sides upon him
 as well as upon the Radja, who had not yet been joined by more than a thousand
 horse. Qhan-Djehan, being hard pressed, retreated towards the Radja, with
 still the Marbattas at his back; when the Radja unfurling at once his standards,
 and playing his kettle-drums and trumpets, advanced to the attack: the moment
 that it was discovered by the Marbattas whose standards these were, they fell
 a crying that Qhan-Djehan was come; and without minding his numbers or
 making any further inquiry, they fled on all sides. At this very moment, he
 was joined by four thousand more of his horse, and nothing was heard now but
 the words " kill and maim." I happened at that very time, says Hashem-aly-
 Qhan Qhâsi, to be in that very district for the purpose of examining my fa-
 ther's apanage; and finding I was surrounded on all sides by those free-booters
 I gave up myself for lost. However, I made use of that very confusion in
 which the Marbattas had fallen, to throw myself in the Imperial army,
 from whence I had opportunities to examine the whole engagement leisurely.

In a few hours I perceived ricks of Marhatta dead bodies on all sides; and they were so panic-struck, that quitting their mares and their arms, they would creep into the cottages of the peasants and ask for quarter with the greatest humility and submission. The others who had been plundered of their all, would answer those supplications by breaking their heads with sticks and stone: So that all the booty which they had assembled in their camp, fell in the hands of the victors. Two or three days after the battle, the field being strewed with dead, scavengers were sent amongst them with orders to cut off all the heads; and about fifty cart-loads of heads, spears, and bucklers, were collected and sent to the citadel of Aoreng-abad. It is in this manner that the renowned general, without ever being at a loss for expedients, used to gain endless victories under Aoreng-zib's auspices.—Here ends the quotation from (49) Hashem-aly-Qhan.

It was such victorious generals and such lords, prodigal of their blood, that Aoreng-zib was continually disgusting by his suspicions and a cautiousness that had no end and no term. It is such men he was continually accusing in assemblies of purblind cazies, and hood-winked ecclesiastics, who condemned such men to exiles, and to confiscations of djaghirs; a fatal blindness, the consequence of which was, that after spending so many years of his life in those expeditions, and squandering away all the corors of the Empire, he found himself farther than ever from bringing the Decan under proper controul; so far from it, that he inured the Marhattas to wars and to laborious campaigns; in so much that a little after his death, they broke throughout all the provinces of the Empire like a torrent, made of all Hindostan an hyppodrome for their courses; trampled all its cities under the hoofs of their horses; murdered an infinity of Musulmen, children, men, and women, carried crowds of them into captivity,

(49) Hashem-aly-Qhan, calls himself Qhafi, or the fearful and concealed: a title which he well deserves, if it be true that he wrote (at least so he says,) with a deal of circumspection. He wrote in Aoreng-zib's camp, being a nobleman in high office at his court, where he lived as his friend and one of his family. His book is scarce. We saw but one exemplary at Lacnow; and if there be any in Calcutta, it must be in the Libraries of the English, now become the only literati of Bengal.

and defiled an infinity of reputable families: in which performances they were imitated by the Syks, and some other powerful Gentoos, who then raised their heads. The consequence of those obstinate wars of his in Decan started up in vast numbers during his life time in his victorious face, and doubtless will start up again in the day of Judgment; and this is what history says of his public life: as to his private character, it is by this time well-known: he became the tyrant of his father, of his brother, of his children, and grand-children; and with regard to his blind attachment to cazies, and men of the Church, the following quotation, from Hashem-aly-Qhan-Qhá-fi, will shew what account he made of their opinions when they chanced to clash with his own, or to come home to himself.

Terrible attack
upon Aoreng-
zib's character.

The victorious Emperor having resolved to conquer the Kingdoms of Bidjap8r and Haiderabad, one day asked of the supreme judge, or the supreme bishop of his court, what he thought of such an expedition; and how far in his opinion it was lawful to proceed upon it? the cazi having given an answer directly contrary to the Emperor's pleasure, saw such a sudden alteration in his features, that he thought proper to abscond from court; a few days after he made use of the interposition of friends, to obtain leave to go to Mecca, in which manner he lost his appointment and office. The Author means, that the judge having incurred the Emperor's resentment by his unguarded decision, fled for his life, and thought himself very lucky to obtain leave to get out of his reach, by exiling himself to Mecca. He that succeeded this judge, was a man of as great a firmness of mind as his predecessor. It was the cazy Abdollah, supreme judge and casuist of the court. This magistrate, afflicted to see so many Musulmen massacred on both sides in the wars of Bidjap8r and Haiderabad, took upon him to observe, that the Kings of those countries were Musulmen, as well as their soldiers; and that the Imperial army consisting of Musulmen, the continual massacre that took place on both sides, was repugnant to the spirit of the law; and that should his Majesty in the wisdom of his enlightened mind, and the benignity of his heart, cast a look of compassion on the afflicted state of Musulmanism, and grant a
peace

peace to mankind, an infinity of poor ruined people would recommence to breathe, and might recover their losses." This insinuation was very ill received: a little more, and the cazy would have been undone for ever. Some of the Princes of the blood, with many of the principal favourites, interposed their good offices to prevent the judge's punishment; and the judge's extreme liberty was forgiven him: but he was forbidden the court, as well as the Imperial presence; and he remained disgraced for a long time.

SUCH was that glorious Emperor's character in public; but so many blemishes and so many ugly actions are to be found in his private life likewise, that one would be apt to think that there is no wretch upon earth, but who with a little common sense would not have behaved with more caution. Most of those actions are recorded by Naamet-Qhan-Aaly, one of the lords of his court, in those elegant and farcistical memoirs he has left us of what passed under his eyes. But as we have been speaking so often of the wars with the kingdoms of Haiderabad and Bidjap8r, it is but proper that we should recount some of the events relative to them, that the many examples which our illustrious readers shall meet in them, may serve to put them upon their own guards.

THE Emperor Aoreng-zib, whose ambition and covetousness knew no bounds, having formed the design of conquering the kingdom of Bidjap8r from the monarch of the Adel-shahi Dynasty (48), and that of Haiderabad from Soltan Ab8l-Hassen, the last of the house of C8t8b-Shah, he was looking out for some pretences to commence a war; but wished that the

(48) These Kings of Bidjap8r, who all bore the title of Adel-shah and Adel-Qhans, from the founder of that monarchy, are no others than those so often mentioned in the histories of the Portuguese settlements in India under the name of Idal-cans. In this same manner we shall discover Soltan-Bahadyr in the Soltan-Bad8rs of G8dj-rat, and Nizam-el mulk in the Mamalucos and Nazamucos of Bidjap8r. But for our knowledge of this particularity of the Kings of Bidjap8r, who all bore the same name or title, it might appear from the Portuguese histories, all written with the most slovenly carelessness, ignorance, and partiality, that a Prince of the name of Idal-can, has been waging war with them in India for one hundred and eighty years together. This remark may serve as a clue to unravel that assertion of the ancient Persian history, where Key-mars, or Key-marafs, their first King, is said to have lived a thousand years, &c.

subject of discord might arise from those Princes themselves: he therefore commenced by writing a haughty letter to Soltan Ab8l-Hassen, in which he reproached him for his keeping, as his prime minister, a Gentoo, (the Brahmin Madina) and requested his dismissing that man from the ministry, in order to remove thereby the scandal it gave to religious Musulmans. The king of Haiderabad asked time to put that order in execution; but the Emperor hearing at that very time that this Prince was possessed of a diamond, which in bigness and beauty surpassed every thing to be found in the treasuries of all the Princes of the earth, he sent for Mirza-Mohammed in his closet, a nobleman who had been born in his service, was one of his own breeding and training, and now enjoyed the office of comptroller of the hall of audience. “ *My motive for sending you, said the Emperor, to the court of Haiderabad, is not solely for demanding a bit of stone; whether that Prince chuses to part with it or not,—your business, take care, is to speak so boldly and with so much liberty to him, as to make him lose his temper, and exhale himself in some expressions that may afford me a handle against him.*” The Mirza, furnished with such instructions, repaired to the court of Haiderabad, where he was received with entertainments and presents, and with every demonstration of honor and respect: in one of his visits he mentioned the famous diamond: the King for all answer, sent for the keeper of his jewel-office, and having commanded him to bring all the gems and jewels in his custody, together with his diary and register, he swore upon the word of God, that these were all the jewels he was master of, and that he had no others (49). He at the same time selected such gems as seemed

Aoreng-zib attacks the king of Bidjap8r, and Haiderabad.

Crafty instructions given by Aoreng-zib to his Ambassador.

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(49) This Diamond, however, came from Haiderabad, and was in the Emperor of Hindostan's treasury, where it bore the title of Coh-N8r, or mountain of beauties or of lights. It has the figure of an egg, placed upon its broader end a little flated, and is the same which was seen in 1670, by Tavernier, who valued it at twelve millions, which at fifty livres the mark, makes twenty-four French millions of to-day, 1786; or a million and a quarter sterling. Its weight is two hundred and eighty-four carats. The fellow of this diamond came also from Haiderabad, and was registered under the title of Deria-i-N8r, ocean of beauties or of lights: being a Diamond cut table-ways, and weighing three hundred and two carats. These two diamonds were each of them field-m Marshalls or generals of two armies of diamonds, each of them commanded by its field-officers, &c. for such is the expression in the records. Both these generals were carried away prisoners by Nadyr-Shah, from whose jewel-office general Coh-Nor was stolen along with the pillow, covered with Colonels, and other officers, of rank,

Curious answer of the king of Haider-abad.

to be of an uncommon bigness, colour, and water, and requested his presenting them on his part to his Imperial master; after which he gave him his audience of leave. The historian, Hashem-Aaly-Qhan-Qhafi, who wrote expressly of Aoreng-zib's life and wars, speaks in the following manner of this affair. *"I have spoke several times to the Mirza, after his return from the court of Hyderabad, when he said several times that in compliance to his instructions, he had made it a point to speak to the king of Häi-derabad with so much liberty and so much unbecoming freedom, as might put him out of his guard, and excite his anger; but that so far from his scheme taking effect, the king always took care to speak in terms of modesty and deference."* *"We are both monarchs,"* said that prince, *"but yet I am willing to acknowledge your master for my superior, and to be as his dependant."* The Mirza laying hold of this expression, answered with warmth, *"that it little became him to talk of himself as a monarch, when mentioning Aoreng-zib the conqueror's name."* The king, without losing his temper, replied with a smile, *"You mistake the case, friend Mirza-Mahmed: if you wont allow me the title of king and monarch, how shall you manage to call your victorious master, King of Kings and Emperor?"*

To return to our Narrative, The Emperor being arrived at B8rhanp8r, which is the first frontier of Decan, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, detached forwards a young nobleman whom he wanted to train to war,

rank; and this was done by Minafs, an Armenian, who was one of that Prince's jewellers, as well as jewel-guards. The theft having been soon discovered, life was offered to the man, if he would restore the stone; but the Armenian, who suspected that a confession would only expose his family and thirteen children to ruin, without saving his life; and who knew that at all events it would enrich his family, pointed out to his children the place of his garden where he had buried it, and then courageously submitted to the suplice of fire. The eight sons went to Basrah after Nadyr-Shah's death, and carried thither the pillow and the large diamond: there they made their shares in silence, and repaired to India, where they settled, from Basrah and Surat, up to Canton in China, eight very rich and powerful houses of trade. Kircor, the youngest, who alone had dared to take in his share the large stone, which the others would not accept, being both unfaleable and dangerous, kept it full forty two years, without ever uttering a word of it. In the middle of the Russian war, 1774, with the Turks, he carried it to Constantinople, without daring to do more than just to mention it: from thence he carried it to England, and lastly to Holland, from whence he sent a model of it to the Empress of Russia, Catherine the Second, who bought it for one tenth of it's value (a hundred thousand pounds sterling,) and gave a pension of two hundred to the Armenian, on whom she also conferred nobility by a patent. The other diamond has never been heard of, and to all appearance is buried in some garden.

and

and whose military grade he then advanced: this was Sheabedin-Qhan, son to Kyludj-Qhan (50). He had orders to make himself master of some fortresses of the Marhatta country: and he gave him a good army and every necessary for a siege. His instructions were to follow the plan once traced by Shah-Djehan, and to commence, like him, by taking the fortress of Ramah, as the easiest of all. He at the same time instructed Nik-Nam-Qhan, governor of the fortress of Malhar and foddar of the Buglana, to advance towards the strong fortress of Salir, in which he was to gain admittance, if possible, without a siege, by opening a negotiation with the governor and garrison. After these arrangements, he in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, quitted his palace at Aoreng-abad, and advanced to Ahmed-Nagur, where he encamped, and from whence he detached his son, Mohammed Ozm, to besiege that fortress, as well as to take possession of all the forts of the district of G8l-shen-abad, whilst Nik-Nam-Qhan should be employed in negotiating with the governor of Salir. He at the same time dispatched his other son, S8ltan-Muázzem, with orders to chastise the free-booter of Ram-Derah, a valley contiguous to the C68can, and belonging to the house of Adel-Shah. The Prince being arrived before Salir, was going to open his batteries, and to attack the fortress; but Nick-Nam-Qhan, who had already opened a negotiation with the governor, sent him word that as his fortress would certainly fall before Aoreng-zib's victorious fortune, he had better spare him the trouble of a siege, as he would not fail in that case to represent his merits to the Emperor, who would make him ample amends for his loss. The governor, sensible of the goodness of the advice, and persuaded that he could not stand a siege, made a merit of his submission, and surrendered his place; and in this manner the strong fortress of Salir came to hand without a formal siege. The keys were surrendered to Nik-Nam-Qhan, who carried them, together with the governor, to the Imperial presence. The Emperor ac-

The fortress of Salir surrenders to the Imperialists.

(50) This Kyludj-Qhan, or lord Sabre, seems to be no other than Nizam-el-Mulk, himself; who was since surnamed Chin Kyludj-Qhan, or the sabre-drawing lord, and became one of the principal generals of the reign.

cepted the keys, and bestowed on the governor the grade of five thousand horses, with the effectual command of three thousand.

HASHEM-ALY-QHAN writes, that the Emperor having in the beginning of his reign examined the lists of the pensioners and of some other people who enjoyed benefits from the treasury, whether of old standing or of new creation, confirmed all those grants, and made it a point to raise the incumbents successively to dignities and offices and also to superior pensions, as they came to be vacant; they enjoyed djaghirs, besides many free lands: so that their situation was of the happiest; but at the beginning of this campaign, and whilst the army lay encamped at Ahmed-nugur, things took another course; and he who had hitherto constantly abstained from admitting Afghans, and Radjp8ts in his service, as well as Cashmirians, especially those of the tribe of Check (51), now adopted another system.—Obliged now to pass his life in countries inhabited by infidels, he found it his interest to gain the hearts of the Marhattas, and the subjects of the kings of Bidjah-p8r and Haiderabad; and he that disliked the Patans, and could not bear the presence of an Hindoo, now commenced to admit those of Decan in his service; and even to shew them some predilection; inasmuch that even on any trifling service performed by them, they were sure of being raised to honours and dignities much above their respective merits. On their turning Musulmen, or barely taking service with him, or only siding with his forces, qhylaats, horses, elephants, jewels, as well as grades and dignities, were lavished upon them, without reckoning surnames and titles of honour. These men, whether rewarded with Djaghirs in lands or with Djaghirs in ready money, were so much caressed, that their rents and pensions never suffered more than three, or at most, four months delay; and great connivances were shewn them in the collections of rents, until at last it was found that all the new conquests had been swallowed up in

(51) All Cashmirians are reputed bad men in Hindostan, and there is a proverb that runs thus: "*Bengali Djen-djali, Cashmiri bi piri*," the meaning of which is, that there is no disentangling one's self from the double dealing of a Bengali, but that a Cashmirian always acted like an Atheist.

Djaghirs to the new comers. Moreover as the Djaghirs of these were upon the spot, and most of them greatly under-rated, they had it in their power to bribe the penmen and heads of offices to much connivance, or to procure good protectors and friends; whereas the old servants, and even those bred in the Imperial household, could hardly support themselves; and thus, whilst new men, whom no body knew or had so much as heard of, were living in affluence and prosperity, ancient dignitaries, and ancient servants of the Imperial family, were so far neglected for want of protectors, as to be ejected from those Djaghirs and possessions of their's which were far off; and this was the case with the greatest number, that is, with an infinity of persons; whilst others were sure of never recovering the balances due to them. It was even remarked, that the Emperor, on being presented every sixth month with the list of the pensioners and Djaghir-holders, used often to write at the bottom of it that a pomegranate was indeed an excellent remedy, but that it would never suffice for a hundred men; so that whenever he had to dispatch military officers, or to appoint to dignities and honours, he used to strike out a number of small Djaghirs in order to make up a large one: an expedient that ruined by the sword of the pen an infinity of people of middling stations, whom it turned out of their accustomed subsistence.—This is what Hashem-aly-Qhan-Qhafi says. Let us now return to the thread of our Narrative.

SHEAB-EDDIN-QHAN, who had been sent to take the inconsiderable town of Rameh, and who with the army and artillery with which he had been furnished, and the character he bore for bravery and conduct, ought to have taken it by insult, found, on his arrival, matters very much altered from the account given him. The governor Simbha was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity: this man who had for all artillery only three guns out of order and very old, but chanced to be master of a great deal of timber, contrived a number of wooden ones, which he covered with leather, and which he planted every where upon the ramparts; and these he never

Strange artillery contrived at the siege of Rameh.

made use of but when an attack or an escalade was actually going on against his walls; at which time they fired once, and presently were unfit for further service; but they answered the purpose of keeping in awe an enemy that knew nothing of the secret. This governor, by such a contrivance, and many others of the same kind, found means to protract the siege: and to so much art and contrivance he joined so much firmness and so much bravery, that Sheab-eddin with his army and artillery could not prevail. The siege drew to a length: the Emperor informed of this, sent to his assistance Cassem-Qhan, an able and prudent general, averse of glory, and desirous of being employed. The new general went very briskly to work, and gave several assaults; but which were all repelled by the governor, who seemed equally proof against open attacks and secret practices. At last the famous Qhan-Djehan-Cocalash was sent thither; and repeated attacks were made, and assaults given, and all to no purpose. Qhan-Djehan, repulsed every where, betook himself to the following expedient: he ordered a number of troops, supported by all the sutlers and followers of the army, to present themselves with great cries, as if with intention to give an assault, by which they would draw the attention of the garrison to themselves: he at the same time prepared a number of ladders, and a body of four hundred picked men, whom he encouraged by the promises of a high pay and several rewards: their business was, as soon as the garrison should be taken up with the false attack, to advance silently to the foot of the wall, plant their ladders, and mount, unperceived, and before the garrison could think of them. Unfortunately the governor, who had spies in camp, and kept a sharp look-out, was informed of the whole scheme; and he counteracted it exactly in the same manner: he appointed a multitude of soldiers as well as useless people in opposing the false attack, but reserved a select body for the particular attack intended to take effect: these he ordered to squat themselves all along the parapet, and to hold themselves ready with certain iron hooks, made of five branches of that species called *Ráib*, in Decan, and *Bagh-T'8ia*, or Tyger's-paw, in Hindostan. Each of them, besides his spear and long sword, was furnished

furnished with one of these engines. They were directed to squat on the ground close to the parapet, and to observe so profound a silence, that the besiegers should not suspect there was a soul there: At the appointed time of the attack, two young men, who marched as the forlorn hope, advanced to the foot of the wall, planted their ladder, and got up, being followed by others upon the same ladder; the same activity was made use of at the other ladders. But as soon as a certain number had got nearly to the top of the wall, those of the garrison, that waited but for them, got up at once from their hiding places, and tearing up with one hand the turbans of those that had reached the wall, gave them with the other so many strokes of their engine as tore hideously their heads and faces, and overthrew them all down the wall, over head and heels. These, by their weight, brought down those that were yet upon the ladders; and the whole of them being now sprawling on the ground, presented a dreadful scene of mangled faces, and broken legs and arms. This stratagem of the besiegers having failed, another was set up: and this was of the supernatural kind.

THERE was then in camp an impostor, who had acquired much renown throughout the army, by incantations, and conjuring up spirits: this man having found means to introduce himself to Qhan-Djehan, had the daring-ness to propose to him a new and strange way of taking the fortress. He obtained that he should order him a snake of gold, of about one hundred tolas weight (52); and putting on a certain dress made of Bulgar-leather (53), stuffed with cotton, he got upon a lofty scaffold of wood, made on purpose for the occasion; and commanding the troops to mount to the assault, he commenced giving a variety of motions to his snake, and singing and crying, and invoking his familiars. He had promised that at the end of his incantations, the fortress would be taken. Whilst he was

Strange contrivance of the Besiegers.

(52) More than three pounds weight, English.

(53) Russian Leather.

agitating his body in such a frantic manner, a ball of stone, discharged from one of the wooden guns upon the wall, struck him in the stomach, and the man tumbling down with his snake and leather drefs, broke his arm and leg; and thereby put an end to the attack. This expedient, having failed in this manner, and the siege having been already protracted to so irksome a length, the generals grew tired of it, and went away, having first changed their drefs to prevent their being known: they at the same time set fire to the scaffold they had raised close to the wall. On sight of this, the besieged cried out from the walls, "*Stay until the whole is consumed, and then you shall rub the ashes*" "*of it over your (54) faces, and shall then retreat properly accoutred.*" Simbadji, the Marhatta Prince, hearing of this vigorous defense, sent the Governor a Qhylaats of high value, and a pair of bracelets, of those called *Caras* in Hindostan; they were of gold, and weighing each half a feer (55); he at the same time drew him from that inconsiderable fortification, and gave him the command of one of the strongest fortresses in his dominions.

We find in authentic records and histories that the S8bah, alias kingdom of Bidjap8r, stretches to more than three or four months journey in length, and to full two hundred coffes in breadth. It's revenue, in the begining of Sekender-Adel-Shah's reign, who was dispossessed by Aoreng-zib, was of two corores of h8ns (pagodas), that is seven corores of rupees: an extent of dominion which was so far reduced and so ill administered by his Ministers, that when he lost his crown, his possessions did not extend beyond a revenue of seventy lacks of rupees a year. This event took place, in the twenty-ninth year of Aoreng-zib's reign, answering to

(54) This alludes to certain Criminals in India, who have their faces besmeared with ashes. Some Fakirs likewise, as having renounced the world, and as sinners, have their faces and bodies besmeared with ashes: some however, have their faces besmeared with lime, as well as their whole bodies.

(55) A pound weight, English. But this is one half of the metal used for the Bracelets become ordinary these twenty or thirty years in Dehly and other parts of Hindostan; those of the legs are twice as big. Those countries being endlessly involved in civil wars, and perpetually plundered, it has been judged expedient to accustom women to run away and to make long journies with a great deal of property about themselves. Heretofore half a pound weight disabled a girl from wa king

the year one thousand and ninety six of the Hedjira. Azm-shah, one of the Emperor's sons, was appointed to the command of that expedition, and he received from his father a number of generals renowned for valour and conduct. Roh-ollah-Qhan was a principal of them, at the head of twenty thousand horse; to him was joined Séyd-Abdollah, an ancient servant of Soltan Muázzem's: he commanded a large train of artillery, with a body of two thousand horse. It was at that very time the Emperor had already dispatched Qhan-Djehan at the head of a large army and a great train of artillery, with orders to invade the territory of Haider-abad to which he had already given the name of the "Theatre of sacred War."—Séyd-Abdollah, after some skirmishes, arrived before Bag-tana, which he was preparing to besiege, in expectation of being soon joined by Soltan Azem. But as there subsisted a great disunion and mesintelligence between the two brothers, Soltan-Muázzem and Azem-Shah, the latter wished that no mention should be made during the siege of any officer belonging to his elder brother; and as he knew Séyd-Abdollah to be a man of an heroic valour and a determined soldier, he sent him word under hand, that he might have him for his friend, if he would but attach himself to his person, or, at least, forbear to call his trenches by the name of Soltan-Muázzem's. But as that Officer had consented to be of the expedition, on the encouragement given him by Roh-ollah-Qhan, his ancient friend, the same proposals were sent to this general likewise. It happened that all this insidious negotiation produced no effect. Séyd-Abdollah rejected the proposal with indignation; and Azm-Shah, shocked at the refusal, sent word to the besieged, that they might with safety fall upon Séyd-Abdollah's trenches, as they might depend upon his not being supported, or at least upon his receiving only such an assistance as would be effectually defeated by a variety of contrived delays. When the message arrived from the prince, it happened that Séyd-Abdollah was actually leading an attack against the walls: his artillery made a fire superior to any thing throughout the whole army, and he was himself the foremost amongst his troops; but he was repulsed, and besides many

Aoreng-zib repairs in person to the siege of Bidjap8r.

other soldiers, he lost two hundred and fifty men, mostly of Barr, all his countrymen, and all men of distinguished characters and bravery, and all personally known to Soltan-Muáz zem: he lost also two war elephants. Sëyd-Abdollah was descried from afar rallying his disordered troops, and leading them again to the charge; and his undaunted countenance struck so much terror amongst the besieged, that they were going to cry for quarter. It was at this moment that Azem-Shah sent R8h-ollah-Qhan, in appearance to support that brave man, but in reality, to manage so as to bring some disgrace upon him, and upon the other friends of Soltan Muazzem's. R8h-ollah-Qhan, obliged to submit to the times, and to humour the Imperial Prince, advanced to Sëyd-Ab-dollah, and advised him to forbear so iufuctuous an attack; and this officer on observing how the wind blew and how coldly he was supported, recalled his men, and returned much dispirited to his quarters. On the commencement of the attack, intelligence had come to court, that Sëyd Abdollah had behaved greatly to his honor; and the Emperor felicitated Soltan-Muáz zem on the event; but the next day's intelligence having ascertained that he had been repulsed with loss, he seemed incensed against both that officer and the prince. Upon some further intelligence, he got information of the true state of affairs, and recalled to court both Sëyd-Abdollah and R8h-ollah-Qhan. The former was reprimanded; and had not R8h-ollah-Qhan interposed and obtained the Imperial pardon, for a miscarriage of which that officer was not guilty, he would have been disgraced with shame and infamy. This singular proceeding is reported by Hashem-Aaly-Qhan-Qhafi, as an instance of Imperial policy, and of knowledge of the world in Aoreng-zib.

MEAN while Azm-Shah was so streightened in his quarters by the Bidjap8rians, that he had infallibly been undone, had not Shehab-ed-din-Qhan, with his brother Mudjahed-Qhan, hastened to his assistance, with all the provisions and futtlers they had assembled, by beating both the

the Marhattas and the troops of Sekender-Shah's. The above historian says that all the prince's cavalry was starving, so that the very men of his household suffered hardships unavoidable, and perished with famine; numbers of them had subsisted on bones of dead animals pounded together with tamarind leaves (56), a food, which, wretched as it was, had now failed totally. Vast numbers perished from such unwholesome food, as well as from mere famine; the courage of the men was damped; but what is singular, that of the women proved unshaken. Djani-begum, Dara-Shecoh's daughter, and now consort to Azm-Shah, who lived in camp, but was kept at some distance from it, having had her quarters attacked by a party of the enemy, she quitted her covered chair, and getting upon a war-elephant, she pushed forwards on the enemy; she had thrown away her veil, was shooting arrows incessantly, and encouraging both officers and men to do their duty, and to exert themselves manfully; and she was repulsing the enemy vigorously, when assistance came from the main army.

As to the convoy brought to camp by the two brothers, Sheab-eddin and Mudjahed-Qhan, it was attacked in its way by forces twice superior to their's: and here the two brave brothers, concluding that the Imperial army would be undone unless it was immediately assisted with provisions, resolved to perish on the spot, or to carry their point. They both joined together in pronouncing, over themselves, the office of the dead: their principal officers did the same; and, mounting again like men that had taken leave of this world, they rushed upon those numerous troops, and did so much havock amongst them, that they forced them to retire in disorder, leaving full liberty to the convoy to repair safely and without further loss to Azem-Shah's famished camp. The prince on Shehab-eddin's making his bow, took him up, caught him tenderly in his arms, dressed that officer in the very dress which himself then wore, and

(56) They eat in India the youngest leaves of the Tamarind, (or rather Tamar-hind) in Arabic (Indian fruit,) a very large tree whose juices are sweet; but whose fruit and leaves are extremely acid.

loaded him with honors and favors. The Emperor, himself hearing of this signal delivery of his son and army, exclaimed aloud, "*May God Almighty preserve for ever Sheab-eddin, with his family and descendants, in the same manner as that brave officer has preserved the honor of the Djagatâi-family and throne (57)*!" He at the same time augmented his grade by a thousand effective horse, changed his name, gave him the title of the victorious champion of the law, ever successful (58), sent him a very obliging letter with many rich presents, and decorated in the same manner that officer's brother and his principal officers. But as mean while the siege of Bidjap8r seemed to draw to a length, the Emperor himself, on the twenty-ninth year of his reign, turned his victorious standards towards that capital. Being arrived in it's neighbourhood, he detached S8ltan-Muázzem to the assistance of his younger brother Azm-Shah; and got that prince accompanied by the flower of his army, commanded by officers of great renown and approved abilities; such as Roh-8llah-Qhan, and Shehab-eddin-Qhan, (now styled Ghazy-eddin-Qhan), and some others; and every one of those heroical men set out with a firm intention to exhibit such feats of valour and ability as might do honour to the Emperor's choice. But S8ltan-Muázzem, who preferred policy and prudence to open force and bloodshed, commenced from his post at Shah-p8ry gate, a negociation with the garriſon, offering them full safety for their honour, property, and lives, if they would quietly surrender the place. The younger brother informed of an affair that would have redounded intirely to his elder's honour, wrote to the Emperor, "*that he was treating with the enemy, on his own account, and seemed to roll great projects in his head*;" and in this malicious insinuation he was joined by some commanders averse to the Soltan Muázzem. Roh-8llah-Qhan himself, who was attached to Azm-Shah, gave his evidence against the unfortunate Prince. The officers of the police in the army joined in those depositions; and Shah-C8ly, a favourite servant of S8l-

(57) Djenghis-Qhan was of the Djagtai tribe; and Timur, the founder of the Hindostani Empire, drew his origin from him.

(58) Ghazi-ed-din-firoz-Djung.

tan Muazzem's, who used often to resort to Sekender-Shah within the city of Bidjap8r, was seized as he was coming back to camp, and arrested, and then sent to the Emperor. That Prince at first spoke to him mildly, and exhorted him to give a full information of whatever he knew, as the safety of the state was interested in it; the other denied that there was any criminality in his case. Orders being given to torment him, he was scourged; and in the middle of that torment, he promised to disclose every thing he knew: and he accordingly accused, not only the Prince, but also numbers of other persons, who he said, were equally privy to his designs. Some of these were M8min-Qhan, the second astrologer; Mahmed-Sadyc-Qhan; Bendrabun, Divan to the Prince, and Sëyd-abdollah of Barr. The Emperor, on this deposition, sent for Soltan Muázzem to court, and complained much of the ungenerosity and folly of his conduct; the Prince was confounded and speechless: he then denied Shah-C8ly to be in his service: but the assertion answered no purpose. And Sëyd-abdollah, after all the heorical feats of valor and conduct he had exhibited heretofore at Haider-abad, and of late at Bidjap8r, was disgraced and confined, with many others. Soltan Muázzem was neither disgraced, nor had any of his offices or revenues taken from him; but he was neglected, and fell into contempt. Roh-ollah-Qhan, who had heretofore interceded for Sëyd-Abdollah, was ordered to keep that officer in his custody.

MEAN WHILE the siege had been protracted to the beginning of the year thirty of the Emperor's reign, which answers to the year one thousand and ninety seven of the Hedjrah; and the inhabitants and garrison of that great capitals being deprived so long of all necessaries, an infinity of men and animals perished with famine: forage and provisions were sold for their weight in gold. In this extremity Sherzesh-Qhan, a principal commander in Sekender-Shah's service, asked for a parley, and was admitted to a composition for his master. That general brought the keys of the city to the Emperor, who ordered Sekender-Shah into confinement. It was in this manner that a

Bidjap8r, reduced by an horrible famine, surrenders.

fortress that had stood like that wall of Sekander-Makedon's (59), at last submitted; and the chronogram of the date was comprised within the above words. The Emperor, on receiving notice of this important surrender, gave orders by a note in his own hand to the annalist Sheh-Hedaïet-Kish, to insert it in his annals in these words: "*This fortress came to my possession by the repeated efforts of that worthy son of mine, the sincere, the faithful Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, the ever successful in war.*" And it is observable that this conquest was announced in those very words in the Imperial letter written to Emir-Qhan, the famous governor of Cab8l, with whom the Emperor was pleased to keep a correspondence.

THE Monarch, after the conquest of Bidjap8r, resolved to finish the campaign by taking the city of Häider abad, in the territory of which he had already, long ago, and so early as the beginning of the expedition against Bidjap8r, sent a number of troops with orders to ravage and ruin the open country; but his suspicious temper had made him change these troops several times, together with their commanders, as we shall soon have occasion to mention. This was the state of things at that period, in that neighbourhood; but Bidjap8r being now conquered, and his mind made easy on that head, he bent all the strength of his genius and all the power of the Empire, on the conquest of Häider-abad, to the territory of which he now gave the surname or title of *Dar-el-Djihad*, or theatre of the sacred war. It is this theatre of a sacred war which the religious Emperor, that champion of religion and law, was going to besiege, with an army of half Musulmans and half Infidels and Pagans.

But before we enter on our Narrative, it is proper that we should mention in few words what were the circumstances of that city and coun-

(59) Ascander-Makedon, or Alexander the Macedonian, ordered a wall to be raised in order to shut up against the Turks (for the word *Scybe* is of Greek extraction and is not known in the East,) the passage of two leagues, which is betwixt the Caspian Sea and the mountain Caz, (Coh-Caz, words which have been græcised into Caucasus) and this passage closed up, is so called to this day, *Der-benda*.

try, a little before the Emperor's arrival. That Prince on sending Azm-Shah towards Bidjap8r, had dispatched the valorous Qhan-Dijehan towards Háider-abad, with orders to make himself master of some towns and fortresses that might streighten that capital, and render subsistence difficult. That general was accompanied by several officers of character, such as his own nephews, Sefder-Qhan, Jredj-Qhan, and Fidái-Qhan; amongst which were likewise some Gentoo commanders, the principal of whom was Mohcum-Sing. On hearing all these preparations, Soltan-Ab8l-Háffen, king of Háider-abad, ordered his generalissimo Hibrahim-Qhan to march against the enemy with some of his most approved commanders. Qhan-Djehan meanwhile being arrived at Mulker, was joined by Perviz-Qhan and Djan-Neffar-Qhan, two generals who were already on the spot, where they had come several times to an engagement with the enemy. Hardly was the junction effected, when he found Hibrahim-Qhan, the Háiderabadian general, at the head of thirty thousand horse before him: a warm engagement ensued, which was followed by daily skirmishes, and always with a deal of blood-shed. But as the Háiderabadian general received several reinforcements from his rear, his army came to be of fifty thousand strong. With these he surrounded Qhan-Djehan's troops, penned them up in a camp, and repeated so often his attacks, that the Imperial army was nearly undone, had not its general ordered a fosse and an intrenchment to be drawn round it. But still he was blockaded; and for a month together nothing was to be seen but daily skirmishes, with now and then a bloody engagement. At the end of that month the enemies seemed to have made a pause, when on the third day, at a time when the Imperial army was off it's guard, and it's general was playing at dice, they appeared at once, as if with intention to make a general attack. Qhan-Djehan had just time to mount, and to send his two sons, with his nephew Iredj-Qhan against the enemy: to these he added the Hindoo Djat-Sing, with a general order to march by the right: to the left, he sent all the Afghan and Radjp8t commanders, with the troops

Siege of Háider-abad.

Several bloody battles about that Fortress.

troops of their own nation. He had hardly time to make these dispositions and to mount, when the Háiderbadians, having crossed the ditch and got over the intrenchment, forced the barricade of chained cannon that lined it, and fell upon the Imperial army, killing and wounding every thing in their way. Sheh-Minhadj, one of their bravest generals, attacked Sipahdar Qhan and Himmet-Qhan, two sons of the Imperial general's, who were both supported by Djagat-Hara, by Sherzeh-Qhan-Lödy, and by Rostem-Qhan; at the same time the generalissimo enemy, supported by Beri-hat-Qhan, rushed upon Qhan-Djehan and filled that whole wing with slaughter and confusion; whilst another body was attacking the Radjp8ts and throwing them into the utmost disorder. In this confusion Sheh-Nizam, another Háiderabadian general, found means to rush upon the rear, and to overthrow every thing in his way. The Imperial army, commanded by valorous commanders, stood its ground every where, but every where with a great loss. Himmet-Qhan, Sefder-Qhan, and the Bondela-Djesvent, were wounded in several places; Himmet-Qhan's Amhari (60), in particular had its boards so stuck with arrows, that it looked like a table studded with an infinity of pins set upright. That commander, although wounded and in an Amhari, aimed at from every where, kept firmly upon his ground; but he sent to his father for assistance: and the father, who stood his own ground with great difficulty, answered the request by recommending him to God Almighty's protection. At this moment Beri-Hat-Qhan, a commander of renown amongst the enemy, having assembled a number of select horsemen of various denominations, fell upon Qhan-Djehan, and pushing forwards, he shot an arrow at that general. The latter having caught the arrow with his hand, put it to his bow, and shot it with so much justness at his enemy, that it disabled his hand. Nevertheless, victory was inclining to the side of the Háiderbadians; and matters were so desperate, that it became doubtful whether a single man of the Imperial army would be saved. Matters being so critically circumstanced, assistance

[60] A Throne upon an elephant, capable of containing two or three men.

came from an unexpected quarter: there were at a distance some elephants in rut, which had been made fast to some trees with ropes and chains, to keep them under some controul. The drivers, thinking that the blind fury of those animals might be turned to some account, let them loose, after having put upon their tusks an iron chain of about three hundred pounds weight: no sooner were these animals let loose than one of them having singled out that terrible Beri-Hat-Qhan himself, advanced straight to him. The Afghan, who was a stout vigorous man, trusted to his own strength so far as to rush upon the elephant, with his spear couched; but the animal, which had in its way to him killed, wounded, and dismembered a number of horses and men, keeping its eyes fixed on Beri-Hat-Qhan, gave him such a blow as killed him on the spot. The animal after this atchievement, continued to advance, dealing deadly blows around, and trampling under foot whomsoever stood in its way. This strange combat, between armed men and elephants in rut, having afforded Qhan-Djehan's troops time to take breath; they advanced upon the dismayed Häiderabadians, who now fell into confusion and retreated on all sides, unable to stand the fury of the elephants. The opportunity was ably seized: they were charged on all sides, and obliged to fly in great disorder; and victory remained to the Imperialists. At last the general, in his letters to the Emperor, ascribed this victory to a particular interposition of Providence; and demanded succours and a strong reinforcement. The Emperor sent to his assistance his eldest son Soltan Muázzem, with a strong body of veterans, and a number of commanders inured to wars and dangers: these were Yricad-Qhan, son to Affed-Qhan the Djumlet-el-Mülk, (61) Merhamet-Qhan, son to Namdar-Qhan, and some others. The junction being made, Qhan-Djehan proposed to attack the enemy, and at day-break he quitted his intrenchment; but he had hardly advanced three coffes, when he was met by the Häiderabadians, who advancing fiercely to the charge,

The Imperialists, nearly defeated, receive an unexpected assistance from some Elephants in rut.

(61) The Greatest of the State, is the translation of those three words. This Affed-Qhan was the Vizir of the Empire.

singled out that part where the general was himself, with the Imperial prince Muëz-eddin; and on the first outset, killed some elephants and some hundreds of men both cavalry and infantry; advancing beyond the Imperial artillery, they spread terror and confusion throughout the whole army. Seyd-Abdollah, of Barr, who had been released from his confinement, sensible of the consequences of such a disorder, advanced at the head of a body of troops with Radja Man-Sing; and both exerted themselves so bravely, that they brought the enemy to a stand. The engagement ended and recommenced for three days together, costing the lives of an infinity of brave men on both sides. Victory at last declared for the Imperialists: the enemy was discouraged; and his troops fled and took shelter within their camp: thither they were pursued by Seyd-Abdollah and some of the most ardent Imperialists, who declared that now was the day to put an end to the war. The general objected; but it was nine o'clock at night, when he returned to his camp; from thence he wrote the next morning an account of the whole affair to the Emperor, in hopes to have merited, as well as the prince, the Imperial applause, which in fact he so richly deserved; when to his surprise there came a letter to camp, which instead of the merited encomiums, contained the most severe reproaches both against the general and the prince, for having put an end to the pursuit and returned to camp. This letter confounded them, and filled their hearts with grief. They became dispirited and negligent; and although the Häiderabadians, instead of coming henceforward to a regular engagement, contended themselves with some skirmishes by day, and some firing by night, nevertheless both the prince and the general, exasperated at the Emperor's ingratitude, refused for four months together to fight them any more, contenting themselves with repelling their attacks. This neglect affected the Emperor so deeply, that he sent to camp a letter in his own hand, full of the bitterest complaints: to the general in particular he addressed this verse of his own:

Thou Morning Zephyr! all this is of thy own bringing.

On

ON this afflicting letter, the Prince assembled his best generals, read the contents in their presence, complained much of the usage he received, and asked their advice about what was to be done next. The general, with most of the council, being extremely incensed and dispirited, voted against a battle; but Sëyd-Abdollah, with two or three Radjp8t Radjas, proposed to attack the enemy. Both parties persisting in their opinions, the council broke up without coming to a determination. After their departure, Sëyd-Abdollah observed to the Prince privately, *that the general being an old friend and acquaintance of the Emperor's, might possibly take the liberty of giving way to his resentment; but that it was neither safe nor decent in him to resist any more the Imperial commands:* he added, *that as the enemies seemed inclined to a peace, conscious of their weakness, now was the time to fall upon them, and give them a total defeat.* If, said he, *the general takes the van under his command, I offer to lead the main; and if he chuses to command the main, I offer my services to lead the van: otherwise, let any of the two Imperial Princes take the command of that van, and I offer to lead under him, and to deserve his good opinion.* Soltan Muázzeem did not declare his opinion; but he sent word to the Háiderabadian general, “ that the Imperialists having fallen under the Emperor's displeasure for their long inactivity, they were now resolved to afford satisfaction to that monarch, by giving a total defeat to the enemy, unless they chose to prevent it by timely suing for peace; the more so, as such a party would prove equally advantageous to both sides, and seemed to be the only one that could procure the Imperial forgiveness on Ab8l-Hassen's misdemeanors (62), and on them all: that should they make a cession of the fortress of Bëyrem, and of all the districts on the frontiers, already conquered by the Imperial arms, he would endeavor to represent this cession to the Emperor in such a manner, as would not only procure a forgiveness to Ab8l-Hassen, but also render him an object of favor in the Imperial mind.” The Háiderbadian

(62) The person whom the Imperial Prince chuses to style only Ab8l-Hassen, is no less than Soltan Ab8l-Hassen, king of Haider-abad. But this slight expression was become of etiquette.

general was himself inclined to a peace; but on his making the proposal in a council of war, in which assisted several generals, and especially Sheh-Minhadj, and the Brahmin Rostem-Räo, with some others who breathed nothing but war and battle, they all unanimously answered, *that the fortress of Bÿrem, as well as the districts in question, hung at the point of their spears, or stuck at the edge of their sabres; and that whoever had a mind to them, must conquer them sword in hand, and not with messages.*" This was all the answer that was returned by the enemy: and these men after having been for some time very slack and remiss, now became so active, that they were incessantly firing musquetry and rockets against the Imperial camp, which they approached so near, that a rocket fell within the women's apartment in the Prince's quarters, as he was going to sit down to his dinner; and it overset a qhöan, or table, carried upon her head by one of the female attendants. Not content with that, they were firing incessantly with the new artillery they had received from Häider-abad, and threatening the Imperialists both with the voice and with the hand. The Prince shocked to see himself eternally braved, resolved to fight; and he came out of his intrenchment with that intention. The order of battle was the same as before: the command of the van, or Aräol, was given to the Prince Müëzz-eddin and to Qhan-Djehan: the Chendäol, or main battle, was given to Sëyd-abdollah; and the other generals were placed as they came in the Djeran-ghaz and Beran-ghaz, or right and left wings (63). Soltan Müëzz-eddin, himself took his post in the Col, which followed the main body. He had with him Qhoadja-abol-Mucarem, and some other officers of distinction, and he seemed resolved to come to a decisive engagement, be it ever so bloody. The Häiderabadian generals on their side made their arrangements according to the motions of the enemy: they concealed or buried great part of their heavy canon; and dividing their army in three bodies, they opposed one to the enemies van,

(63) It is observable that altho' the text is Persian, nevertheless all these military words are, in the Turk sh, the original language of Timur, or Tamer-lang; since whose time they have remained in the court of Hindostan with some others; for instance, the word *Atlan* (be mounted), which is carried round to the horse-guards, when the Emperor is going to mount his Elephant.

another to his wings, and a third, the most numerous of all, which was commanded by their most determined generals, to Séyd-abdollah and his troops. In this order they were advancing like a mighty inundation, swelled into waves by a rising wind. The cries of *kill* and *maim* in a little time filled the air, and every one seemed intent on nothing but killing and wounding. No such bloody battle had been fought all along this war; but the Háiderabadians seemed to have the superiority. The Prince Muézzeddin supported by Himmet-Qhan, son to the general, and by Affed-Qhan and some others, was making the greatest efforts; at last Séyd-abdollah, after repeated attacks, was observed to gain ground on the enemy; and this engaged both wings to advance. But yet the battle that had commenced at day-break, seemed to be undetermined so late as at twelve o'clock. It was only after that time that the Háiderabadians were observed to be in confusion, and at last to quit their ranks and to fly on all parts. The Prince Muézzeddin availing himself of the opportunity, followed close after them, and was going to enter their camp, when he received a message from Sheh-Minhadj, one of the most valorous commanders of the enemy, in these words: *We do not see, in the history of former times, that noble Princes and generous Generals have waged war with the women and families of their enemies; or that they ever attempted to dishonor them by any defilement. Respect is due to women: let strife and slaughter be amongst men only: Stand off a little, until we have secured our wives and honor; and let the rest in camp be your's.* The prince admitted the plea, and repressed the ardor of his troops for full two hours; in which interval the Háiderabadians found time to lade their wives and families upon whatever they could meet,—carts, camels, elephants, or horses,—and to carry them out of the reach of danger. In the afternoon, the truce being expired, they appeared again in several compact bodies, and gave a battle still more bloody than the last. But it must be acknowledged, that they were vigorously received; both sides exhibited proofs of a determined courage, and an infinity of brave men perished on both sides: Soltan Muázzem, in particular, had two elephants killed under

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him.

him. In the enemy's army, Sheh-Minhadj, a valarous commander, was severely wounded, together with Rostem-Rão, the Brahman; and some others of their most adventurous officers. Nevertheless they found means to wound Bendrabun, the Prince's divan and prime minister, and to carry him away upon his elephant. But Sëyd-Abdollah, thinking that the capture of the Prince's minister would cast a stain upon the character of those that fought with him, ran after them with some Radjp8t Princes, and rescued the man, and brought him back. Whilst he was performing this service, the consort of Gháiret-Qhan, the pay-master-general, was struck by a musquet ball upon her elephant, and fell senseless, together with a waiting maid; but the number of common soldiers, or of people of no consequence, slain in this furious action, is incredible: both armies sustained a mighty loss. However, the Háiderabadians having stood their ground so late as the evening, now disbanded, as soon as it grew dark, and they fled every one of them to Háiderabad; but not, however, without dispatching in the evening a message to Prince Muázzeem, proposing; *that instead of sending every day to the kingdoms of Nothingness such vast multitudes of musulmen, a number of generals from both sides should advance between the two armies, and fight together for superiority; and that which ever party should have the advantage, it should be final for both armies.* This proposal was rejected, the Prince being sensible that the Háiderabadians being from their youth trained to the management of the pike and spear, would infailibly have the advantage. In the morning intelligence coming that the Háiderabadians had disappeared from the field, the Prince ordered the music to strike up, in token of victory; and giving up all thoughts of pursuing the enemy, he marched straight to Haiderabad.

The Haiderabadian generals propose a combat between twenty of their's and twenty of the Imperial officers.

As the Prince was approaching, Madina, the Brahman, prime minister and confidant of the king of Háiderabad, found means to render suspect the conduct of his general, Qhalil-Olah-Qhan, alias Hibrahim Qhan, as if he were of intelligence with the enemy; and the king became so convinced of it, as to conceive the design of arresting and putting him to death:

death: but the general informed of that resolution, went over to the Prince, and was received with kindness and distinction. His master hearing of this desertion, concluded himself lost, and his affairs desperate: and without giving notice of his resolution to any one of his ministers or friends, without affording himself time to carry away his consort and family; he fled to the fortress of Golconda, which is at a few miles from Háiderabad, carrying with him some chests full of gold and jewels: it was at about one o'clock in the morning. The unfortunate inhabitants of Háiderabad being thus forsaken, gave themselves up to despair. The Prince arrived at this moment with his army; and such a scene ensued on that ill-fated city, as seemed to have anticipated for it all the horrors of the day of judgement; some thousands of people of the better sort, having no time to provide carriages, or any other conveniencies, took their wives and children by the hand, and without minding their being without a veil and without a mask, they brought them out to public view, and carried them to the foot of the fortress, leaving the whole of their property behind, without so much as taking the value of a straw from it. The King had already done so himself: his palace ready furnished, his wardrobe, his elephants, horses, jewels,—all were left behind. The annalysts write, that a vast wealth to the amount of five or six corors, was plundered and made away with, by the robbers and thieves that abounded both in the city and camp; and this too some time before the army could come up. Rich merchants and wealthy bankers, who lived these many generations in that city, without having ever seen so much as a tumult, were stripped of their all, and reduced to beggary in a few moments: For those that were jealous of their honor, abandoned both houses and property, and were only busy all night in carrying their consorts and families to the castle. At day-break the army arrived, and a general plunder took place; and as it was a very rich city, and every market and every street was full of goods, merchandise, money, and precious things, the plunder was immense; and that unfortunate city seemed to undergo by anticipation its condemnation at the day of judgement.

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The number of defilements committed that day, as well as the multitudes of nobles and plebeians, whether Musulmen or Gentoos, that lost their comforts and children, are matters known only to him for whom nothing is hidden; and such as no pen can describe. Preserve us, O merciful God! as well as all your adorers, from such days as these! The plunder and sack was going on yet, when envoys came from Soltan-Ab8l-Haffen, supplicating forgiveness for the misdemeanors which their master could not have committed. But the Prince was already exerting himself for putting an end to the pillage: touched with the cries of the unfortunate, he had mounted, and was actually driving away the plunderers, and endeavoring to appease the tumult: in fact, it subsided a little: but the city was already undone by this time; and the people ruined, remained ruined; nor is the merit of this ruin to be attributed to any but to Aoreng-zib himself, who by this time has doubtless been called to an account for such a general devastation. The prince on the intreaties of the king's envoys, restored to him his dominions, under the promise of his paying a present of one hundred and twenty lacs, over and above the usual annual revenue. He also directed that Madina, the Brahman, together with his brother, Inganna, who were the causes, if not the authors and machinators of all these troubles, should be turned out of their offices, never to be re-admitted; and that the fortrefs of Bëyram should be added to the Empire, with all the districts already conquered. On these conditions the prince became an intercessor for the king of Häiderabad. But this forlorn monarch, although inclined to set aside Madina, could not however part with him in such a time of trouble and confusion. Some of the principal men of his court, however, shocked that he should still adhere to those two Brahmans, to whom they ascribed all the misfortunes of their country, made application to Mah-Djani, the principal consort, who bore an absolute sway in the haram, or seraglio, as well as on Ab8l-Haffen's mind; and having obtained her consent, they put both the Brahmans to death, without giving the least notice of it to the king their master, and then sent their heads to

Soltan-

The two Brahmans put to death.

Soltan Muázzem. The latter seeing that the principal of the Emperor's commands had been complied with by this execution, and all the conditions of the treaty fulfilled, sent the two heads to his father. That covetous man, on seeing the heads, dispatched Saadet-Qhan, a nobleman of his own breeding, and who had been Divan to Qhan-Djehan, with orders to receive the money stipulated, together with some arrears that were due: but mean while he expressed his resentment against that general, as well as against the prince, but especially against the former, for the lenity shewn to the city of Haider-abad and its king. He wrote to him a severe letter, and recalled him to court; nor did his former and late services save him from the Emperor's resentment. And as there were in the army several young lords, like Yticad-Qhan, Affed-Qhan, and some others, who exerted themselves in every occasion, whether in a day of battle, or in executing any Imperial order; and were on that account so many objects of favor, he made it a point, in every letter to the old general, to extol their conduct and merits at his expence. In one of those letters he wrote with his own hand, *That whilst youths, whose mouths still smelt of milk had approved themselves on every occasion zealous, and of the utmost alertness, he, who had grown old in his service, had shewn himself neglectful and indifferent.* These reproaches incensed the general; and the comparison irritated his discontent. Shocked at such a want of gratitude, he resolved to quit the camp, and to leave it to those young men to range armies in battle, and to dispose the operations of a campaign; and from that moment he gave himself up to a life of sloth and inattention.

Just at this time some ungrateful and traitorous lords of Ab81-Hassen's court, who had been gained by Aoreng-zib's promises, or were prompted by their own perverseness, came in a body to the Emperor, and proposed to him to take possession of Haider-abad. The Emperor granted them a body of troops, and sent them to S8ltan-Muázzem. But whilst

war and peace seemed both at a stand and confounded together, Abdol-Rezac-Qhan of Lar, one of the commanders that stuck yet to the king of Háider-abad, and had of late been appointed to watch the motions of the Imperialists, coming to hear of the approach of that succour, fell upon it, and killed or took prisoners two or three of the Imperial generals, committing also some slaughter amongst the troops that composed that re-inforcement, which not being apprised of its danger, and at too great a distance from the Imperial army to receive any support, was easily overpowered: for the prince finding that provisions grew scarce in the neighbourhood of that capital, and that nothing was yet determined as to war or peace, had thought proper to retire at a distance; so that he was now encamped at Ghur; and the army thus at a distance had been of late weakened by the disgrace of those two heroical men, Qhan-Djehan and Sëyd-Abdollah, whose numberless important services could not save them from a total dismissal, after they had been, as well as the Imperial prince, severely reprimanded for the lenity shewn to the king and city of Háider-abad. God preserve us, with all the faithful, from such ungrateful masters!

THE siege of Háider-abad mean while drawing to a length, and both the Prince and Qhan-Djehan being deemed guilty, Abed-Qhan, son to the victorious Ghazy-eddin-Qhan, was sent both to command the army, and to exact from the Prince the Pishcush, or the present, he had stipulated with the Haider-abadian king; in a little after both the prince and Qhan-Djehan were re-called, the first to live with the Emperor his father; the second to render an account of his conduct. His ill luck was such, that the very day he chanced to arrive at court, a quarrel arose between his people and those of Muázzem-Qhan, father-in-law to the young Prince Cam-baqsh. It was in setting down both their palekies in the yard of the Imperial quarters: a great tumult ensued; and the noise reaching the Emperor's ears, he sent Qhan-Djehan out, with the slave-boys of the palace, to appease the

the tumult, and to drive away Muázzem-Qhan's people. The General, who was already afflicted at the reception he had met with from the Emperor, and who made no account of Muázzem-Qhan's bravery, or military talents, no more than of his services or birth, when compared to his own; had no sooner seen to what a height the tumult had already risen, and what disorders it had caused, than he ordered the market-street and the sutlers of this lord to be plundered and stripped: and this order having been literally executed, shocked the Emperor extremely. The monarch, to punish the general, sent him to an expedition on the other extremity of the Empire: it was to take the fortrefs of Sanfi, in the Djatt country, which service having been expeditiously performed, he soon returned to court, where the Emperor, already disgusted with him, for the imperiousness of his temper, deprived him of all his offices, as well as of all his Djaghirs; and the poor man finding himself fallen at once in all the distresses of poverty and want, pined away and died of a broken heart. Let sincere and candid readers judge from this example, of what kind were the politics of that prince; and let them conjecture what must have been his notions of gratitude, his principles of government, and his particular turn of mind! His unworthy acknowledgement of the services rendered by his son, and his shocking treatment of two such meritorious heroes as Qhan-Djehan and Sáyd-Abdollah, whom he confined and vexed in a variety of manners, speak for themselves, and require no proofs or commentary!

AFTER the conquest of Bidjap8r, and the circular letters sent throughout the Empire to announce that acquisition, the Emperor under pretence of visiting the monument of Sëyd-Mohammed-Ghifs8-Deraz (64), or the long-haired, sent his equipage forwards; he at the same time

(64) Ghifs8-Deraz, he in effect wore a very long hair that trailed to the ground; nor is such a length of hair uncommon amongst Fakirs, who wash it with a lixivium that disgusts all vermin; but hardens the hair, lengthens it, and gives it the appearance of a dirty red.

The Author re-
sumes the siege
of Haider-abad.

wrote to Saadet-Qhan, the Sezavol (65), to take care to send to the presence the money promised by the king of Háider-abad. Two or three months before he had so far complied with his son's request, as to send that king a dress of honor, as a token of approbation of the treaty concluded. The dress and jewels were sent; but all the world knew it to be only a snare intended to lull that unfortunate man asleep, and to put him off his guard; for at the same time, he wrote to Saadet-Qhan that the Imperial standards would certainly advance to the walls of Háider-abad; but that mean while he ought to recover from Ab8l-Hassen as much of the promised money as he could, by whatever means; and that his zeal and abilities would be measured by his success in bringing that affair to a completion. That officer on this order pressed the king of Háider-abad so much, that the latter expressed his surprise at so much rigor; when the other informed him that the payment of that money would prove the only means of obtaining his pardon from the Emperor. The king answered that to find so much ready money after such a long war would be impossible; but that he had jewels of high value; and that their amount would go a great way towards discharging the debt. He at the same time sent him nine Qhoans or tables covered with loose gems, to which no price was fixed, but which had been separately weighed, put into bags of fine linen, and sealed. He had likewise sent a message to request his keeping these jewels for two or three days, as pledges, in which time he would endeavour to find out as much ready money as he could; and that at that time his keeper of the jewel-office would wait upon him to fix their respective values; after which he might send both the money and jewels to the Emperor, together with a supplication particularising the "submissive manner in which Ab8l-Hassen had executed the Imperial commands, and his hopes that his majesty would be pleased to grant him a full receipt and discharge." This supplication was backed by some baskets of fruit for the Imperial desert. Saadet-Qhan, who

Artful management of Aoreng-zibe's.

(65) Sezavol, the Enforcer,

had

had been bred in Aoreng-zib's school, and was as cunning, faithless and artful as his master, sent the baskets of fruit to the presence, but joined to them the jewels lodged in his hands as pledges; and two or three days had elapsed already, when the unfortunate king received certain intelligence that the Emperor had set out from Calberga, and was marching to besiege the fortrefs of Golconda. The intelligence was become public. Ab8l-Hassen, confounded at this piece of news, and sensible that he had nothing to hope from the Emperor, sent word to Saadet-Qhan, "that his intention in despoiling his consort and family
 " of their jewels, and in stretching every nerve to find out some money,
 " was to soften the Emperor's heart in his behalf; but since his majesty
 " seemed bent on the ruin of an unfortunate Prince, the former agreement
 " ceased of course; and he therefore requested the return of the jewels, as there remained no hopes at all of any favor or commiseration
 " from the Imperial benignity. Saadet-Qhan answered, that being compelled by an Imperial order to urge payment, and uninformed of his
 " majesty's intention of coming this way, he had sent to the presence both
 " fruit and jewels; the latter sealed as he had received them; and that
 " as a zealous attentive servant of his majesty's, he could not act otherwise. That this matter being already over, he had nothing to offer in
 " atonement at this present unexpected juncture, but his own head and
 " life, both which he would be glad to sacrifice for the Emperor's service." This answer of Saadet-Qhan's having produced some more messages, and replies, people were sent to his lodgings to bring the boxes of jewels from thence; and as a sharp dialogue took place on that subject for two or three days together, Saadet-Qhan sent a last answer in these words: "I acknowledge, Prince, that you are in the right, and that
 " my conduct has been artful; but in this I have acted by order; for
 " it had become incumbent on me, as I valued my own safety, to comply
 " punctually with my instructions; and now, become your culprit, I have
 " nothing to offer you in atonement for the perfidy of my conduct, but

“ my own life; take it, then, if you like it; and afford that handle a-
 “ gainst you to a man who is seeking this long while a pretence to ruin
 “ you and your family. Else, so long as I am alive, there will remain
 “ hopes of my being able to soften the Emperor’s heart, so far, as to
 “ make him alter the resolution he has set out with; and it may be ex-
 “ pected, that sensible of the lenity shewn me, I shall be constantly em-
 “ ployed in obliging and serving you.” This singular speech made a sin-
 gular effect on the king: pleased with the man’s readiness to expose
 his own life for his master’s service, and with the frankness with which
 he acknowledged his fault; the king thought proper to abstain from of-
 fering him any injury; he even came to admire this zeal and magna-
 nimity; and sending for him, he applauded his devotion to his master,
 made him a present of a dress of honor, and added to it a Djeme-
 dher, or Decanian poniard, studded with jewels, as well as some other va-
 luable presents.

By one of those chances for which no human conjecture can account, this
 very day happened to be one of those in which Ab81-Hassen used to converse
 with learned men and divines; and mention was made of the Empe-
 ror’s zeal for religion, and of the regard he always shewed to learned religi-
 ous men. This observation was glanced at by the learned men then present,
 who observed that his ordering “ his people to cut the throats of so many fine
 “ horses sent him by the Emperor of Iran (66), and their flesh to be distri-
 “ buted to the poor, might be reckoned as a token of his hatred to heresy;
 “ but was no great proof of that zeal for religion, which so strongly recom-
 “ mends to repress and keep under controul, the passions of the heart and
 “ the effusions of anger; and they added, that had the value of those hor-
 “ ses or the horses themselves been distributed to the poor, they would have
 “ been the better for it, and the intent of liberality had been better fulfilled.”
 Luckily for the Emperor that Saadet-Qhan was present; this officer equal-

(66) Shah-Soltan-Soleiman, King of Persia.

ly ingenious and brave, undertook to answer for his master's behaviour on that occasion; and he did it in a manner equally subtle and rational. "He acknowledged that in the manner in which that action of his had been misreported, it must of course have fallen under the animadversion of men of sense and good nature; but that the fact had in reality happened in the following manner; nor had any order been given to cut the throats of those horses,—it is only a groundless report: The Emperor was reading the Coran, when those horses were brought to his sight. His Majesty, pleased with their appearance, wanted to bring to a pause his usual accustomed quantity of reading, and to put it off for another day; but at that very moment, his reading lead him to that part of the holy book, where mention is made that Soléiman, son of Dä8d (67), upon whom be peace and grace for ever! having been presented with some fine horses, paused in his prayers of ecclesiastical precept, and from pause to pause he slipped likewise over the time allotted to the preformance of prayers of Divine precept (68); upon which it was revealed to him, that he must order those horses to have their throats cut: the Emperor having gone throughout that chapter, thought the contents addressed to himself, and to keep his own concupiscence under controul, he imitated the action of saint Soléiman (on whom be peace!) and ordered the horses to be slaughtered. Let the uninformed world, added Sadet-Qhan, say as it shall please; the fact is exactly as I have related." The Doctors having quietly heard the report, observed that "if the fact had really happened as it was just now reported, how came it that the horses were sent two by two to the doors of the Iranian lords in the Imperial service (69), and slaughtered there?" Saadet-Qhan answered, that, "this was also a groundless report, which had been much embroidered by the malignity of an uninformed

The Emperors
fanatical con-
duct ingeniously
defended by his
envoy.

(67) Solomon, Son of David.

(68) The prayers of the Mahometans are to be pronounced five times a day, at stated times precisely; nor is it lawful to postpone them without some urging necessity. They consist of several genuflexions prostrations and recaats, or couples of chapters of the Coran. Some of these recaats are reputed of Divine precept, and some are instituted by the Church. The former cannot be dispensed with: the latter may upon an emergency.

(69) Those Lords were all of the Shyah sect; as well as the Emperor of Iran or King of Persia.

"public;

“ public; and that the fact was as follows: Shah-Djehan-abad being then a
 “ new city, there were Persian lords lodged in every quarter of it; and as
 “ slaughtering the horses in one single place, might have occasioned a crowd
 “ and some tumult, whilst the poor of the next quarter would have remain-
 “ ed without their share; orders were given to slaughter the horses in every
 “ quarter, two by two, that every one might enjoy a share of their flesh
 “ without tumult (70).” Such was the turn which the Envoy gave to this
 strange affair; but the Emperor informed of this conversation by the Ga-
 zette of Háider-abad, was exceedingly pleased with Saadet Qhan’s ingeni-
 ous solutions, and he wrote him an obliging letter full of applause; after
 which he marched straight to Háider-abad. Ab8l-Hassen confounded at
 this sudden intelligence, wrote a very respectful letter to the Emperor,
 where he mentioned his having submitted to every condition imposed upon
 him by the treaty, and his readiness to execute any further commands that
 should be laid upon him. This letter was drawn up in a very humble
 stile, and sent by an able speaker, who had orders to spare no submission
 and no supplication that could sooth the Emperor’s mind. And in fact he
 spared nothing in his power, but could not prevail on the innate malignity

(70) As there is much Tartarism remaining in Dehly, where there is a whole quarter called Mogul-p8ra, which contained fifty thousand T8rani inhabitants, horse-flesh is reckoned a dainty; and in the Ramazan, which is both the Mussulman’s Carnival and Lent, they feed much on horse’s flesh; but the day of the Sacrifice, they never fail to slaughter horses in compliment to their own cravings, and camels in compliance with the prophet’s custom and taste. The truth is, that the horses were slaughtered out of spite to the Shyah’s sect; and that Saadet-Qhan’s narrative is only an ingenious apology, in which he has made an artful use of a passage of the Coran: for the fact is as follows: the Emperor, on ordering those fine horses to be slaughtered, said, it is true, *that to receive presents from an heretic was sinful*; but he also had another reason: the Ambassador he had sent to the court of Iran, and who had brought from thence a Persian Envoy and some fine presents, informed his master of the following particulars: Shah-Soltan-Soleiman, (the king of Persia) who was very fond of wine, and fond of uttering extempore verses in his cups, having heard the Indian Ambassador design his master by the expression *Aalemgbir*, conqueror, could not help giving way to his vein for sarcastical verses, and he bolted out immediately: *Aalemgbir! Is it then by turning murderer of his brother, and jailor of his father, that he has acquired that title? Or is it by eating much Cheese that he is come to strike money in his name.* For Aorengzib, who lived only on vegetables, was very fond of cheese as well as kichery; which last is the usual fare of poor people, and a mess of boiled rice and pulse, mixed together.

Burader CSjb, Peder-gbir,

CS8ja Sbudi! Aalemgbir!

Sikkezedi be Zerb Peinir.

Which last verse was but a sarcastical parody of that other put upon Aoreng-zib’s coins, struck in Decan:—
Sikkezedd be zerb Sbimsbir—it is by dint of Sword, he has been enabled to strike money.

of

of the Emperor's heart. He answered that his reply would be delivered to Ab8l-Haffen by a sword and a spear; and forgetting that himself had kept in prison his own father, and his own respectful children; that he had put his brothers to death, (brothers become his prisoners of war, brothers reduced to a state of the highest distress;) and had served in the same manner a poor fryar, a Fakyr, for no other reason than that he seemed too much affected by his friend, the prisoner prince's death; unmindful that he had covered all those crimes, and all the artifices of a continual double dealing, with the cloak of religious zeal, (a cloak become now a public object of banter and detestation); unmindful of his having verified in his person the sentence of the holy book: *You recommend virtue to others, and neglect it yourselves*; he published a manifesto, setting forth what he called Ab8l-Haffen's crimes: the purport was, "that although the life of that wretched was one continual scene of shocking shameful actions, nevertheless it became proper to mention one in a hundred, and to shew a sample out of a heap: that first of all, he had appointed for his prime minister an infidel, a pagan, a man equally cruel and covetous, who carried an iron rod over the heads of so many Sëyds, so many Shehs, so many Musulmen, so many venerable learned men: that he was publickly addicted to all kinds of lusts, even to those of the most ugly and unnatural kind: that his days and nights were spent in drinking and in a crapulous debauchery, that had disabled him from distinguishing Paganism from Musalmanism, oppression from justice, and profligacy from piety and good morals: that he had of late entered into strict connections with that western Pagan, Simb-ha the Marhatta, to whom he had very lately sent one lac of H8ns (71); Notwithstanding the exhortations and representations of a number of grave religious men that had been sent him to put a stop to those connections, and to recall him from an alliance so repugnant to the word of God; that all the effect produced by those remonstrances,

Aoreng-zib's
manifesto against
the King of Hai-
der-abad.

(71) Pagodas. That man spoken of so slightly here, is no less than Simba-Dji, the Marhatta monarch.

“ was only to put him upon precautioning himself, by filling his ears
 “ with the cotton of pride and neglect, and by addicting his time to a
 “ course of crapule and debauchery against the remorses of conscience,
 “ and the thoughts of eternity.”

“ A fine thought this! and a curious expedient!”

SUCH a manifesto having convinced Ab8l-Haffen that there were no hopes left of pacification, he turned his views towards making a proper defence; and he sent orders to his bravest generals, Sherze-Qhan, Sheh-Minhadj, and Mustepha-Qhan, alias Abdol-Rezac, the Larian, to be upon their guard, and to fight the enemy. The Emperor mean while being arrived within two day's journey of Haider-abad, thought proper to encamp; when some troops of the enemy's having just shewn themselves, returned to their main, which was at a great distance from the Imperial army. However even the efforts of that whole army of their's could make no great impression upon the Imperialists, who were ten times their number, and furnished with an immense quantity of artillery and stores. But whilst the Emperor was encamped at two day's journey from Haider-abad, news came that Shebeddin, alias the victorious Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, who after the conquest of Bidjap8r had been detached to besiege the fortress of Hibrahim-gur, was coming to the presence, in compliance with an Imperial command, after having sent forward a golden key, with a relation of the capture of that fortress. At these news the Emperor decamped, and marching directly, he took post within one coss of the fortress of Golconda. On his arrival, the Imperialists were attacked by the Haiderabadians, who after having performed as much as could be expected from their small numbers, retired again to their camp, at a distance from the Imperialists. Ghazi-eddin-Qhan arriving after this engagement was proposed to the operations of the siege. He ordered mines to be sunk; dam-damas, or lofty cavaliers of earth and timber, to be raised, and trenches to be dug; so that the business of killing and wounding was regularly established.

Siege of Gol-
 conda, by Ao-
 reng-zib.

It

It was on this occasion that Abed-Qhan, father to Ghazi-Eddin-Qhan, on passing by a mosque, where the holy words "God's victorious Lion" were engraven (72), attempted to efface them with the point of his spear, and directly had his hand carried off by a canon-ball: a wound of which he languished two days, and which carried him at last to the dreary desert of Nothingness. Mean while, and whilst the siege was vigorously pushed forwards, Ab8l Hassen, who had always experienced Soltan-Muáz-zem's commiseration and lenity, applied again to that Prince; and after having opened his way by a respectful message and several rich presents, he requested him to intercede again in his behalf with the Emperor, and to supplicate his majesty to forgive his crimes and misdemeanors, imputed or real. The Prince himself, who saw with a jealous eye the honor which the capture of such a fortress would confer both on Azem-Shah, his younger brother, and on Ghazi-Eddin-Qhan, his favorite, was willing to snatch so much glory out of their hands, by precluding their further progresses by a sudden peace with the Háiderabadian king: he therefore kept some correspondence with the besieged; but this intention of his having been soon perceived by the Prince Azm-Shah, by his favorite, Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, and by some other lords as great time-servers as himself, they joined their concerns together, and made such a report of that correspondence to the Emperor, as intirely alienated his mind from his eldest son, from his learned consort N8r-en-Neffa-Begum (73), and from all the officers personally attached to them. Unfortunately for these disconsolate persons there happened just at this time an event that totally estranged the father's mind: the superintendant of S8ltan Muàzzem's

Soltan-Muaz-zem, eldest Son to the Emperor, is disgraced for attempting to manage a peace between the Emperor and the besieged King.

(72) This is a title given to Aaly by the Shyas; and as it was going to be effaced by a Sunni, no wonder that a Shyah cannon-ball should have been sent of course to take off the sacrilegious hand.—The Author of these remarks, being himself upon the spot in 1759, remembers to have seen these two verses on the black marble of the door of that very Mosque.

Mei-qbor, Mus-baf S8z, Atesh ender Caaba Zen, Sakyn-i-B8t-qbane Bash, Merd8m azari mecon.

Drink wine, burn the book, set the caaba on fire, live in a temple of idols, but never do wrong to man.—A distich which contains the whole of a treatise on ethicks, and is now spread all over India.

Quod tibi vis, jubeas aliis, hac summula legis.

(73) N8r-en-Neffa begum, the Princess's glory of her sex. She was extremely beautiful, learned, and tenderly attached to her husband. We have some verses of her making:

household

household, as well as the superintendant of the women's carriages and quarter, joined together to represent to the Prince, that the besiegers being so very forward, and making continual forties, it was to be feared lest they should some day or other turn their steps towards the quarter of the Prince's confort, it being at such a distance from the army, and thereby fully the lucid eye-ball of the Imperial honor. The Prince answered the request, by ordering the Princess's tents, with all those of the ladies, to be brought nearer to the head quarters, and of course nearer the besieged. So small a matter as this, was taken up by Azm-Shah and by his favorite, as well as by their whole party, as a mighty object: they gave notice to the Emperor that the Prince, who had this long while entered into connections with the besieged, was taking measures to retire with his family within the fortress; and the Emperor, who prided in his keenness of understanding and penetration, swallowed such a coarse report, without ever reflecting that if the Prince was really in such a criminal correspondence with the besieged King, he had no need of shutting himself up with him; he had only to send for the enemies army of observation, and after joining it with his own troops, to fall at once upon the Imperialists. Such as was this report, it made a deep impression upon the Emperor's mind; and it kindled his resentment into a flame; and as the Prince's two principal officers had been of his own training and recommending; and he reckoned on their being still attached more particularly to their antient master, he sent for them in secret, and put an infinity of questions to each of them apart. These were the superintendant of the Prince's private apartments, and the Eunuch-Quoadja Abdol-Mucarem. Promises, threats, lofty tone of voice, soothing expressions—all was made use of, and produced nothing. Both those men agreed in answering separately that they knew no other intention in the Prince, but that of obtaining a pardon for Ab8l-Hassen, and making his peace; or at least of engaging him to surrender the fortress upon terms; by either of which operations, he expected to reap much honor and glory for himself: they added, that

being

“ being acquainted with nothing more, and firmly believing the Prince
 “ to be incapable of what was imputed to his charge, they could not think of
 “ joining his accusers in a self-evident calumny.” The unanimous answers of
 these two men, and their firm countenances and tone of voice, did not make
 any impression upon the Emperor’s obdurate heart, and rivetted suspicions:
 sending for the Imperial Prince, who was a man of so ripe an age (74), and
 of so much merit, and moreover his own eldest son, he ordered him in
 to a rigorous confinement, as we have already mentioned. The Prince’s
 learned and faithful consort, their children, his family, eunuchs, favorites
 and dependants, not one of whom would quit his master, were all dragged
 with insult and ignominy, vexed in a variety of manners, and kept in
 close confinement for a number of years together. The Emperor con-
 fiscated all his equipage, which he joined to his own; degraded him from
 his military rank of forty thousand horse, broke and disbanded his bri-
 gade of seven thousand effective troopers, with each of them two and
 three horses; and resumed his djaghirs, or apanages, which he gave in
 payment to his troops. It was remarked that on the first day, his order
 was to confine the Prince’s consort, without touching her property.
 Two days after, the order was altered; and a certain decrepit eunuch,
 very ugly, very cholerick, and very unguarded in his expressions, was sent
 with orders to take away the Princess, just in the dress he should find her, in
 which condition he was to carry her with contempt and ignominy into a tent
 just big enough for the prisoners; and there she was to be close confined,
 after having been deprived of all her clothes, furniture, and jewels, not
 excepting those she might be found to wear actually; and those were
 expressly restricted to those at her arms, and ears, or over her clothes (75).

The Emperor
 imprisons his el-
 dest son.

(74) He was then forty.

(75) This enumeration is a striking proof of the Musulman or Indian Delicacy in whatever concerns women: for the Princess according to custom actually wore jewels at her neck, some of whom hung between her two breast; another piece of jewel descended down her navel; her drawers were made fast with a cordon fringed with pearls; and her legs and feet were likewise adorned with anclers and rich rings: but not only it would have been an atrocious indecency in a stranger to lay his hand upon any of those parts, or even upon her bare skin, but shocking in the Emperor himself to mention her drawers in his order. That word is never mentioned in enumerating a lady’s dress.

The Eunuch having spoken roughly to the Princess, the latter, without losing her temper, cast a disdainful look at him from head to foot, and said; *I Look upon the Emperor to be my father; these jewels, these honors, this respect, are all of his own bestowing; let him take them back again: I have no objections; but how can it become thee to talk to me in that new manner?*" The eunuch having taken fire at this language, the Prince's sister, then present, interceded for the prisoner. But he paid no attention to her intreaties: and he ordered his prey to be carried away; directing that she should receive no more victuals and no more clothes than what were absolutely necessary. The Prince himself underwent a similar treatment; and it became daily more rigorous: after a length of time he received a message, advising him to confess his crimes and to shew his repentance, that his numberless sins and misdemeanors might receive the Imperial pardon. The Prince shocked to hear the word, crime, denied his having been guilty of any; and he answered, "that although it was true that he must be guilty of a variety of transgressions in the sight of on all-perfect god, and of course in the sight of his father, who was his shadow, and his representative on earth; yet that he was so fortunate, as not to perceive in himself any such crime as should excite so important a confession; and the more so, as in fact he was not conscious of having committed any." This answer produced nothing but an addition of severity in the Emperor, and an addition of ill usage to the Prince. He was denied the privilege of having his head shaved, his beard trimmed, his nails paired; he was debarred from drinking cool water, eating warm bread (76), and wearing good clothes. A principal eunuch of N8r-El-Nessa's was also confined, and his property confiscated; and to make him confess the charges brought against the Prince and Princess, he was put to the rack, and for some time was tormented in a variety of manners; but without it being possible to bring any thing out of his mouth but encomiums on his mistress and master, and complaints of the Emperor's unmerited

Noble answer
of the Imperial
Prince.

(76) May God Almighty always bless you with warm bread and cool water! is a blessing commonly bestowed by parents upon their children, all over Persia and Hindostan.

severity.

severity. The Emperor hearing that his case was become dangerous, and that he could bear the rack no more, ordered him to be dismissed. Mirza-Shukur-Ollah, better known in the world under the name of Shaker-Qhan, maternal uncle to the Princess, was involved in her disgrace, and confined, together with three or four eunuchs more. The latter were tormented in a variety of manners, and on their confessing nothing to the purpose, they were dismissed. As to the different species of miseries suffered by the two illustrious prisoners and their families, they are more numerous and various than our imagination can bear, and our pen can describe.

We have mentioned that Hibrahim-Qhan, generalissimo to the king of Háider-abad, forced by his master's attempt to arrest him, and to put him to death; or possibly prompted by a principle, of ambition, had fled to Soltan-Muázzeem, who had introduced him to the Emperor. The latter now thought proper to remember him: the transfuge general was raised to the rank of seven thousand horse, and decorated with the surname of Muhabbet-Qhan (77). Mean while Ghazi-Eddin Qhan was pushing on the siege vigorously; and the trenches by gaining a little every day, were far advanced; when they were at once attacked by Mustepha-Qhan, alias Abdol-Rezac, the Larian, and by Sheh-Nizam the Decanian: the two Haiderabadian generals fell upon the trenches, and committed much havoc. Kishver-Sing pushing hard at the head of his Radjps, was wounded and fell from his horse; and a number of his men throwing themselves in the enemy's way to rescue him from their hands, were put to the sword. Some considerable officers of the enemy's fell likewise; but although repeated efforts were made by the Imperialists to carry their bodies away, they were several times rescued by the Háiderabadians, who not only took them away themselves, but carried likewise the bodies of many notable personages of the Imperial army. This en-

Vigorous fall-
ly of the besie-
gers

(77) The Lord Love, or the Loving Lord.

The Emperor
debauches al-
most all the ge-
nerals of the be-
sieged.

gagement proved very warm; nor was it without continual exertions and repeated efforts of that number of brave T8ranians and Iranians, as well as Afghan and Radjp8ts, officers in the Emperor's service, that the enemy was repulsed and obliged to return within the fortress. In this siege of Golconda such extraordinary actions were performed by the besieged, as look fabulous, and yet have really happened. But as fortune did not favorise them, they all proved of no avail: nevertheless they greatly effected the Emperor, who now thought proper to turn his views towards gaining over to his party the principal officers of the besieged. These were ply-
ed with in a variety of manners: some were promised more extensive commands; and some were allured with brilliant dignities, extensive djaghirs, and high offices of state. All, or almost all, yielded to these suggestions; and both to secure their persons and fortunes, and also to get out the fortress, which they took to be an un auspicious abode, they all went over to the Emperor. Sheh-Nizam himself, who had performed wonders in the last fall, deserted and came over. On his making his bow to the Emperor, he was honored with the fir-name of Mucareb-Qhan, or the favorite lord, decorated with the rank of six thousand horse, and the effectual command of five; and complimented with an apanage. Sheh-Minhadj followed; with several other officers of note; and they were all as well as himself, raised to high dignities, and complimented with offices and emoluments. The desertion was so great, that none remained with the besieged king, but Abdollah-Qhan, an Afghan, and Abdol-Rezac, alias Mustepha-Qhan, an Iranian of the city of Lar; and this latter remained faithful to the very last: for at last the Afghan himself deserted, and went away. In short the only general that stuck to him to the very last day of the siege, who made such vigorous sorties, and contrived so many expedients to retard the capture of the place, (two articles which we shall mention briefly in the sequel), was this same Abdol-Rezac the Larian. The efforts made by the besieged and their king, even after so many desertions; and the repeated de-
feats

feats they gave the Imperialists—defeats that would have saved the fortresses, had fortune been on their side. I have faithfully, although succinctly, copied from Naamet-Qhan-aaly's history, without adding or detracting any thing from his narrative; nor is any thing advanced here, but which is confirmed, or virtually understood, by Hashem-aaly-Qhan, the other historian: although he seems evidently to write with the greatest precaution. The siege drew to a length; and nothing was heard from both sides but a continual roaring of musquetry, rockets, and artillery; the besiegers, however, had a considerable advantage over the besieged: they had plenty of those destructive machines called bombs; and the firing was so continual, and the smoke so thick and constant, that people came at last not to distinguish the day from the night; and not a day passed but some of the most forward amongst the Imperial generals either fell dead, or were grievously wounded. After a month and some days continual labour and slaughter, the trenches were brought close to the fosse, and the Emperor informed of this, ordered his Taht-Revan, or moving throne, to be carried close to the counterescarp, where he took the legal ablutions, pronounced the office of the dead upon himself, made his death-bed prayers, and having sewn a bag of canvass with his own hands, he saw it filled with earth and placed properly; he also ordered cannon to be mounted on some new batteries. But the army mean while had suffered so much from want of grain and necessaries, that even men of property being emaciated, little could be expected from common soldiers. There is no describing the misery they suffered: vast numbers of them died of mere want. To all these distresses was joined, under the Imperial auspices, a mortality that swept people by shoals. Numbers unable to bear hunger and famine any longer, deserted and went into the fortress; but some being detected in favorising the besiegers, who had assisted them with victuals, were severely punished. Matters growing worse every day, the Emperor, to encourage the soldiery, sent a controrder to his son Azm-Shah, whom he had dispatched for quieting the provinces of Odjéin and Acbar-Abad. He was commanded to return

Famine in the
Imperial Camps

to camp: another important personage, Roh-Ollah-Qhan, a valiant general, and a wise counsellor of the empire, who had been proposed to the government of Bidjap8r, was likewise commanded to repair to court; but by this time the siege had lasted already three months, and it was at the end of so much time that Ghazi-Eddin-Qhan betook himself to the following expedient. Pitching upon the darkest part of a moon-less night, he got ready a number of picked men at the foot of the wall, who in a moment got upon the top of it. But the besieged having been awakened by the barking of a dog, killed all those that had got up, and overthrew the rest down the wall. The moment they were mounting, and some had already mounted, a Hadji-Mehrab, (a man in favor with the Emperor, and who at that time was present as a spectator) ran back, and as soon as he discovered the Monarch from a very great distance, he commenced making bows of congratulation. The Emperor, who was then at his devotions on the carpet of prayer, chanced to pay as much attention to this report, and to those congratulations, as if they had been pronounced by the general himself; and losing his usual gravity and considerateness at once, he without further inquiry, or taking any care to ascertain the report, made a sign for the Imperial musick to strike up, ordered his Taht-revan to be got ready, called for a full dress, and was going to look at his new conquest: he even received the compliments of the whole court. In a few moments intelligence came, that the engagement had proved contrary to expectation; that the besiegers had suffered a great loss; and that the general, forced to abandon his undertaking, had returned to camp extremely mortified at such a miscarriage. This affair threw a great ridicule upon Hadji-Mehrab, and finally upon the Emperor himself. In the evening intelligence came, that the Háiderabadian king had honored the dog with a collar of gold, and a gown of brocade, and had ordered his name to be inscribed amongst his most faithful servants. But this was not the only miscarriage that befel the Imperial arms.

An escalade
miscarries.

Imperial Camp.

ABOUT

ABOUT the middle of Shaaban, the rainy season set in with such a violent storm of rain, as distressed the whole army; but did no where so much havock as upon the men at the trenches, which it ruined intirely. The batteries, the scaffoldings, the cavaliers, raised by Ghazi-eddin-Qhan's ingenuity, were all overfet, and levelled with the ground. In the very heighth of the storm and rain, the General, Abdol-Rezac, made a folly at the head of the bravest of the garrison, and overthrew every thing in his way. The massacre and confusion were so great, that Selim-Qhan-Qhashy, who was reputed one of the bravest men of the army, flung himself in a miry-hole in the ground, and remained concealed; and Saf-Shiken-Qhan who had greatly distinguished himself throughout the siege, and was already weakened by two wounds, finding what havoc was going on, dropt down in the water and mud, and kept himself amongst the dead. Djemshid-Qhan, another officer of distinction, took to a corner, and in the darkness expected to escape, but he was discovered and taken prisoner. But Djelil, a slave-boy of the Emperor's, who had raised him to dignities under the Sir-name of Serberah-Qhan, was wounded and taken prisoner, with twelve officers of distinction. The Emperor hearing of such a disaster, ordered that seventy or eighty mountain-like Elephants, should be carried in the torrents occasioned by the storm, and serve as so many bridges for the distressed to pass over, and especially for saving those of the trenches. The elephants were marched; but so far from being of any use, not one of them could stand the rapidity of the water, so far from approaching the trenches; and Haiat-Qhan, the superintendant of the elephant-office, after having spent the whole day and part of a night in fruitless attempts, returned to camp. Mean while the victorious, tired with both the slaughter and storm, returned to the fortress, and presented their principal prisoners to their master. This Prince entertained them during four days together, after which he dismissed them all with the utmost civility and regard, giving a dress of honour to each of them, and complimenting Serberah-Qhan and Ghairat-Qhan in particular with each a horse besides:

Curious folly of
the besieged.

Amazing quantities of all necessities in Golconda.

besides: before their departure he desired Serberah-Qhan to go round the fortress, and to take a view of the magazines of provisions, powder, ball, and every necessary to sustain a siege: the other, after a full survey, was amazed at the immensity of the provision; and on being dismissed, he was entrusted with a supplication and a message to the Emperor, both of the same purport. Ab81-Hassen made them swear by their master's head and life, that they would deliver them faithfully. But when the two officers arrived in camp, they met with a very cold reception from the Emperor, who seemed to look upon them with an evil eye: Gháiaret-Qhan, who had the rank of a thousand horse, and the command of two hundred, was put at the head of a body of five hundred, and without being spoken to by a single word he was sent to serve in Bengal, that is, sent in exile. Serberah-Qhan was used more harshly; the Emperor observed that there was nothing strange in a slave-boy's running away from an engagement, and in his being taken prisoner; and he then deprived him of his grade, but left that *wretched* (for such was his expression) the command of four hundred horse he had. As to the letter he brought, it was treated with the utmost disdain and superciliousness: he would not so much as look at it, but sent it to be perused by the general Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, with orders to make him a report of any thing in it that might deserve notice. Serberah-Qhan, having seized that moment to represent that he had a message to deliver, was ordered to bring it at ten o'clock at night, at the head of his Majesty's bed: the Emperor being then in bed, both reports were brought forth, and found to be of one and the same import. The latter was as follows, and it deserves to be recorded: "After all these hostilities, I still look upon myself to be one of your Majesty's humble servants. If I have been guilty, whether knowingly or otherwise, I have been abundantly punished; and now I hope from the benignity of the Imperial temper, that the time of forgiveness is come at last; nor is my hope without grounds; for on the supposition that the fortress is taken, and your ever victorious majesty should of course return to your Imperial city,

Noble and curious letter of the Haider-abadian King to the Emperor.

" city, there is no doubt but that this country, ravaged and ruined
 " by a seven year's war, and become the habitation of bats and owls, would
 " be recommended to the care of some one of your Imperial court.
 " What harm is there in my being left to be that some one? There
 " is no doubt but such a one will ask for himself, for his troops, and
 " for the expences of government, more than the country is likely to
 " produce hereafter: he will ask a large sum likewise for emergencies;
 " and that overplus must be disbursed from the Imperial treasury.
 " What he shall ask besides for putting a country circumstanced as this
 " is in a state of cultivation, cannot be an inconsiderable object, as
 " such a sum and such an expenditure must be repeated for seven or
 " eight years together, before the country can recover an air of popula-
 " tion and cultivation. Now such a proposed as your humble servant,
 " would save all those unavoidable expences to your majesty's treasury;
 " and nevertheless he would continue to send to your Imperial threshold,
 " (that resort of the respects and homages of all mankind) the same tri-
 " bute as I used to pay to your treasury in my days of dominion and
 " prosperity. Besides that, should my humble requests be granted, and
 " your victorious standards be prevailed upon to return towards Hindostan,
 " I promise that at every cosse which they shall measure, on their return
 " within the ruined dominions of this afflicted man, I will pay into the
 " Imperial treasury one lac of rupees; and I will pay another such lac, as
 " a nuzzur to your footsteps for every assault that shall have been given
 " since your arrival here. Nor is it fear that can prompt me to such
 " confessions: it is with a view to put an end to all that effusion of musul-
 " man blood which has overflowed this country; and to enable the faithfull
 " of (78) the victorious army to revisit their forsaken homes, and to em-
 " brace and rejoin their forlorn families: Over and above all that, should my
 " humble request not prove fortunate enough to obtain the Imperial favor;
 " and should it be the Imperial pleasure that the victorious army should lose

(78) The King, by that word, understands those of his own Sect, the Shyabs.

“some more time before these walls, I propose in alleviation of the miseries of
 “the suffering Imperial soldier, to distribute five or six hundred thousand
 “maunds (79) of grain which Djelil, the slave-boy of your household,
 “has seen in the magazines of this place.”

In answer to all these reasonable and advantageous proposals, the Emperor contented himself with saying, that *if Ab8l-Hassen was really so submissive, and so much his servant, he had nothing more to do, but to come of himself to his presence, with his hands bound before him; or else to let the Imperial officers bring him, with his neck and hands bound; after which,* added he, *I shall act as my goodness shall prompt me.*”

This negotiation took up the whole night. The next morning, contrary to Ab8l-Hassen's expectations, the Emperor dispatched an order to the Divan of the Province of Barar, to forward to camp a variety of military stores, and in particular fifty thousand bags of canvas, two yards in length and one yard in breadth. A report of this order having been spread throughout the army, excited a general murmur; and even the common soldiers asked where was the wisdom, where was the expediency of sending for fifty thousand empty bags to fill-up the ditch, instead of ordering them to be brought full of grain: after emptying which they might answer equally well? and had he not better accept the compassionate proffers of Ab8l-Hassen's, and save the remaining army from perishing with distress and famine.”

BUT the Emperor without minding these murmurs enforced the order by a number of corz-berdars guards, which were sent with the letter. Mean while, on the nineteenth of Shaaban, notice was given the Emperor that the mines were loaded and ready, and the miners waited only for the order to set fire to them.

(79) A Maund is about Seventy-six Pounds Averdupois, English.

On this intelligence the Emperor ordered that the guards at the trenches with a great number of other people, should set up a general uproar as for an assault, to bring the besiegers upon the wall; and that then only fire should be given to the mines. All this scheme produced nothing—the brave and sagacious General Abdol-Rezac, alias Mustepha-Qhan, had guessed the mines, and taken care to oppose them by three coutermines, which he pushed against the enemy by the means of the stone-diggers in the place; and he was so lucky as to find out the enemy's three mines, and to take away the whole powder of one of them, after having poured water upon the two others, and gutted them of as much powder as he could take away with safety. The people in the trenches having made their appearance as for an assault, raised a general out-cry; and this having brought vast crowds upon the crest of the wall, the miners, who waited only for such a moment, gave fire to one of the mines. But as the powder of that part was entirely wet, and nothing good remained but what was on the side of the trenches, the mine had a retrograde effect, and blew up an infinity of men about the trenches who were ready to mount to the assault, as well as a vast number of spectators; it also filled the trenches with rubbish, and it overthrew a great part of the parapet. This event happened in the year 1097 of the Hedjrah; a number which by a strange fatality happened to tally exactly with the number of men killed by that accident; and several of these were men of great characters. On the smoke ceasing, no breach could be discovered in the wall, nor any appearance like it, that might favour the troops ready to mount to the assault. So far from that, they lost courage, and fell into confusion; and this being soon discovered by the besieged, they fell upon the besiegers like a storm, and put to the sword every thing they met in the trenches or in the environs. Assistance came, and after a great loss the trenches were at last cleared of the enemy, and filled with men again; and people were yet busy in counting the survivors, when the second mine was fired, and this likewise having had a retrograde effect, up flew an infinity of stones and clods

Three mines of the besiegers have a retrograde effect, and kill an infinity of people.

Curious fortie of the besieged.

The Emperor repairs to the breach, and behaves with the utmost interpidity.

clouds of earth, which, by falling again, killed and wounded an infinity of people, whose screams reached the cupola of heaven: and this accident killed double the numbers that had been lost by the former. On sight of this, the besieged rushed out again, cleared the trenches, and did every thing in their power to make themselves masters of the circumvallation, behind which the whole army was encamped, and which had cost full six months labour. The general Ghazy-Eddin-Qhan, seeing the consequence of what they intended, marched in person to oppose them; a scene of mutual slaughter took place; and notwithstanding every effort made to drive the besieged, they remained masters of the field; and here again the number of the slain proved equal to what the two former actions had cost. So many disasters one after another could not but kindle the Imperial anger: that anger, capable to set the world on fire, was kindled into a flame; he sent for an elephant, and mounting directly, was followed by all his generals and grandees, and by all the braves of the army; being arrived at a place where the balls were whistling in every direction, he ordered his moving throne to be laid upon the ground, unconcernedly took his seat in it, and ordered the besieged to be driven back. Whilst he was speaking, one of his guards who was laying his hand upon the throne, had it carried away by a ball of cannon; and this accident did not affect the Emperor: he took no notice of it; and without betraying the least concern or trepidation, he continued to give his orders, and to exhort his people to behave manfully. At this moment, the clouds opening, a violent rain fell, and prevented either the Emperor's victory or his defeat. In a moment the plain was covered with waves, as if it had been an open sea; a stop was put to all further operations; and every one, without purposing any thing else, thought only of seeking shelter at home. The works, the trenches, the batteries, those lofty cavaliers that seemed to reach the cupola of heaven—all that was overfet; and the Emperor, wet to the skin as well as others, thought proper to return with his whole court. At this fight the besieged always intent on turning every opportunity

opportunity to their own profit, rushed out of their gates, and falling upon the trenches, levelled them with the ground instantly; whilst others finding in the mud those large guns that had cost so much money and time before they could be fixed upon the cavaliers, dragged some of them with a great deal of ease to the gates, and spoiled or rendered the rest unserviceable. They likewise carried away some thousand bags that had been filled with earth and thrown in the ditch; amongst these was one that had been sewn by the Imperial hands, and this also was carried away in triumph, and was with the others employed in mending the breaches of the walls. In this forty the Imperial general did not spare his own person: he was every where, but to no purpose: matters were past remedy. the Emperor's own elephant, a favorite animal (80), that had cost forty thousand rupees, after having greatly suffered from the rain, mire, and wind, was killed by a canon-ball. That day also proved a blank one; and nothing at all could be done. The second day, the Emperor mounted early and gave orders to fire the third mine. But no fire would take effect; every one wondered at such an event, when some spies gave advice that the besieged had taken away, from within, part of the powder, had wetted the rest, cut away the saucissons, and rendered all that work of no use. The Emperor confounded and afflicted at such a series of reverses, was obliged to return to his quarters, after having put up the assault for some other day. Every thing remained quiet for some days, as numbers of generals and lords had been wounded and disabled; and the generalissimo, Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, himself, had received two wounds, which obliged him to remain at home, and to leave the operations of the siege to the Imperial prince Azm-Shah, in compliance with the Emperor's pleasure. The monarch, mean while, who made no

(80) Such a price for an elephant is a very extraordinary one; nevertheless, history has conserved the names and prices of two elephants much dearer, that had been bought by Shah-Djehan, father and predecessor to Aoreng-zib; one, for one hundred and forty, and the other, for two hundred thousand rupees; and we have seen the portraits of those animals.—However the ball must have been very large, or at least have struck the animal in the head or at the heart; for an elephant has been seen who did not drop dead but after having carried in his bowels a ball of four pounds during a journey of twenty-five miles.

account of Ab8l-Haffen, whether dead or alive, settled a regular government at Haider-abad, which city he ordered to be mentioned in the accounts and records under the name of Theatre of Sacred War; he appointed a governor and a divan or intendant in that city, established collectors, and a revenue office, and instituted several courts of justice: and all that was done with as much unconcern and sang-froid, as if the Haiderabadian king had never existed. Abd8l-Rahim-Qhan was preposed to take an account of the houses and inhabitants of that great city; and the Emperor hearing that Ab8l-Haffen had permitted some sectaries to settle in the suburbs, and also had given vogue to some sects of Deists, he ordered these people to be driven away; and levelling their habitations to the ground, together with some temples of idols, he ordered a number of mosques to be erected in their stead.

It was observed during the siege, that Saf-Shiken-Qhan, son to Cavam-eddin-Qhan, very different in that from the other Iranian lords in camp, had exerted himself in every occasion. Once a learned Iranian, who was his friend and companion, took occasion to observe, that there was in the place a multitude of Sëyds of undoubted extraction, a number of faithful believers (81), and a number of learned venerable personages, who could expect nothing at his hands after the capture of the place, but captivity to themselves, and defilement to their families. "How then," said the venerable man, raising his voice, "can you account to your own heart for all those efforts you are daily making to undo these unfortunate people?" The man, unmoved by the ex-
 postulation, answered, "he had done nothing but his duty, and would do it again; and that, was Imam Hussëin himself within the place, he would not desist from his endeavours to take the fortrefs." This answer of his, soon

(81) The Author, a cankered Shyah, reckoned, for believers, only those of his own sect; and this illiberall turn of mind he betrays every where.

went throughout the whole camp, where it was reputed a kind of blasphemy: the Emperor himself found fault with it, and spoke of the man with displeasure. His blasphemy was supposed to be a fictitious one, and to cover some intelligence with the besieged. He was disgraced, imprisoned, and his property was confiscated. In a little time, the Emperor, reflecting on his bravery, and on his meritorious services, took him into favor again, and gave him the office of grand-master of the artillery, an office of importance now vacant, and which had been refused both by Selabet-Qhan and by others, who did not care to expose themselves to the Emperor's caprices. The Emperor, mean while, seeing how badly the siege went on, was intent on debauching the best officers and best servants of the besieged King; and as people are little inclined to fidelity in unprosperous times, most of the friends and generals of that unfortunate Prince's quitted his court one after another, and were immediately complimented with brilliant dignities, high titles, kettle-drums, fringed palekies, elephants, horses, jewels, and dja-ghirs. Mean while, Sheh-Minhadj, that valorous commander of the besieged, having been accused of an intention to desert, was imprisoned; and there now remained none to Ab81-Hassen, of all his friends and generals, but Abdol-Rezac the Larian, and Abdollah-Qhan tirin, the Afghan. By this time the siege had lasted full eight months. But those two commanders remained inviolably attached to the besieged King, and rendered him an infinity of services. Never did fidelity and zeal shine so conspicuously. Even these two men so circumstanced underwent an attack from the Emperor. An Imperial letter came to Abdol-Rezac, conferring upon him, both the grade and effectual command of six thousand horse, with several offices, titles, and dignities. The general having read the letter with derision, carried it upon the crest of one of the towers, and after shewing it to the men in the trenches, he tore it to pieces, with every mark of contempt and indignation, and threw the pieces to the people below. Sending at the same time for the man who had brought the letter, he gave him this verbal answer: "*Sir, tell your master that this war looks, without comparison,*

The Haiderabadian king forsaken by all, except by general Abd81-Rezac.

Heroical behaviour and unshaken fidelity of that general.

"son, like that of Kerbelah (82); and I hope, so long as I live, to exert myself in behalf of my master, as did, to their eternal honor and glory, those seventy-two heroes who stood by Immam-Hussein, and shed their blood in covering him with their persons against those two-and-twenty thousand cowards who were not ashamed to smite those valorous fellows, and to fight the messenger's beloved grand son. I hope to imitate their fidelity and courage, and to do myself honor both in this world and the other. The Emperor hearing this answer, said publicly, *"That wretch Larian's mind is of the homely kind; but in private he paid the highest encomiums to his fidelity, services, and unshaken attachment. And altho' it was in the decrees of providence that the place should be taken at last, the siege lasted some time longer, as if to afford time to religious zeal, military talents, heroical valour, and unshaken fidelity, and to many other noble qualifications of both parties, to be put to the test, and to be weighed in the scales of discernment: so that the quantity and quality of merit in every commander and every man present, came to be ascertained beyond a doubt. The thoughtless exertions of the Imperial generals were also properly ranked; and a proper value set upon the Emperor's sewing a bag with his own hands, after having purified and washed himself according to law, and pronounced the office of the dead upon his own self. The public rated properly that obstinacy which he manifested in digging trenches and filling ditches at an immense expense, and in sacrificing an infinity of innocent or meritorious lives to gain the possession of a heap of stones. Yet all that, as well as all those assaults intermixed with stratagems, availed nothing; and the place was at last taken without the intervention of either sword or spear, and barely by debauching one after another Ab81-Hassen's best commanders and friends, and by giving in the face of the universe public and continual approbations to perfidy, ingratitude, and perjury. This event happened at the end of Zilcaad, in*

Golconda betrayed, surprized, and taken.

(82) Kerbelah, a town westward of Bagdad, where Hussein, grand-son to Mahommed, having attempted with four thousand men, that joined his cause, to set-up for Qhalif or successor, in opposition to Yezid, who then reigned over the immense extent of Musulman Empire, was defeated by the governor of Basrah, abandoned by most of his people, and reduced only to seventy-two men; who, as well as their master, perished mostly by thirst. It must also be observed that Aoreng-zib, with almost his whole army, was a Sunny, and that the Haiderabadian king, with most of his people, was a Shyah.

the year 1098 of the Hedjrah, by the under hand manadement of R8h-ollah-Qhan, (who had succeded to the wounded generalissimo). This general, by the means of Rosstem-Qhan-Peni, an Afghan commander in the Imperial service, opened a correspondence with Abdollah-Tirrin, that famous Afghan general in the place, on whose valour and inviolable attatchment we have hitherto bestowed so many encomiums. Even this man was gained by high offers: he commanded at the gate called the wicket; and, giving way to that perfidy that seems innate with the Afghan, and never fails to make its effects soon or late, he agreed to deliver the gate. At one o'clock in the morning, he set it open, and admitted Roh-Ollah-Qhan, who was accompanied by Mohtar-Qhan, that Pagan of Saf-Shi-ken-Qhan, and the eunuch Qhoadjah-Mucarrem, now Djan-Neffar-Qhan, every one of them at the head of a body of choice troops. Other troops finding the wall abandoned, mounted by the breach, and by a variety of means got up to the very top, being every where connived at by that perfidious Afghan. Whilst all this was going on at the wicket, the Imperial Prince, Azm-Shah, was advanced to the gate, in expectation of seeing it open. For numerous troops had already poured in, and were busy in taking possession of posts; at the same time a scream of wo, and a scream of desolation, such as that which shall happen on the day of judgment, rose at once from the inner apartments of Ab8l-Hassen's ladies, that the place was taken, and every thing lost. This scream was echoed by some other feraglioos in the neighborhood; it was these screams that awakened Abd8l-Rezac the Larian: having no time to arm himself at all points, he snatched up a sabre and buckler, and throwing himself upon a horse that had a bridle but no saddle, he with only twelve men that were at hand, advanced towards that part whence he heard the screams, that is, towards the whole host of enemies, which were ranging themselves in battle in the palace-yard: for by this time the main gate of the fortress being wide open, troops poured one after another, like the waves of an angry sea, and they had filled every part of the place. Abdol-Rezac

Amazing exertions of general Abdol Rezac.

was now over against his master's palace-gate. Without minding the few men by whom he was attended, or the numerous throngs that crouded on all sides, he rushed in the very middle of thousands of unsheathed sabres, with so much eagerness that his little troop was lost in a moment, and disappeared amongst them. Without being dismayed by that disaster, he cried with all his might, that so long as he was alive, he would prove a friend to Soltan Abdol-Hassen. He said, and kept advancing to the gate, marking his way with his own blood; he was aimed at from all sides, struck on all sides, and he received so many wounds, from the top of his head to the nail of his toe, that he looked like a shrub of full blown roses. Such feats of prowess were that day exhibited by that undaunted man, as are almost past belief, and past the human power; and such as would have excited the wonder, and extorted the admiration of a Rostem and a Sohrab, two antient heroes who would have gladly taken upon their shoulders the trappings of submission, and followed him as his friends to the end of the world (83). He was now arrived close to the gate, but had received twelve large wounds; here he received another which blinded one of his eyes, and by throwing the skin of the forehead over the other, blinded him totally. Here he was assaulted again, received many other wounds; and his arm was disabled: his body weakened by so much loss of blood, was seized with an universal trembling: in this extremity, he had presence of mind enough to turn the bridle about, and to abandon himself to his own horse: and the animal, although much wounded, carried him back to his house, where four men took him down, and laid him upon his carpet. Hassem-aaly-Qhafi, who enjoyed then a high command in the Imperial army, as well as at court, and was present in all this amazing affair, writes that all those that aspire to raise a character for valour and attachment,

(83) See the Persian history, called the book of kings (Shah-Nameh) an historical Poem, in sixty thousand distiches.

ought to have their minds illumed from the beams emitted by that incomparable gem of the sea of prowess and fidelity, if they intend to serve their lords and masters with a zeal and truth, that may entitle them to the applause of their cotemporaries, and to the secret and public favors of their maker in this world and the other.

KING AB8L-HASSEN awakened by this general scream, both from within and without, got up, and gueffing the subject of so much tumult, he used his endeavours to pacify those unfortunate ladies, asked their pardon for past offences, bid them farewel for ever, took an affectionate leave of them all, and was at some pains to disengage himself from their hands. At last he parted from so tender a scene, and without forgetting his high rank, or losing his wonted firmness of mind for a moment, he came out of the sanctuary, went to the hall of audience, and took up his seat on his royal mesned, as usual, waiting patiently for those uninvited guests which fate was sending him: but this happening to be the time customary for his principal meal, he sent orders for its being brought up immediately: he was yet speaking, when Roh-ollah-Qhan, the generalissimo, entered the hall, followed by M8htar-Qhan, and the other eminent lords and commanders mentioned above. The king of Haider-abad without being moved by their multitude, let them draw near, and then gave them the salute of "*Peace be to ye,*" (84): but without carrying his hand to his head or forehead or making any the least inclination or motion of the body, inconsistent with his royal dignity: he spoke to the generalissimo and to the others, with an elegance of language, and a flow of expression that astonished

Fearless behaviour of the king of Haiderabad.

(84) *Salam-Alec*, or *Peace be to thee*, (and these words are Arabic) is always the salute obligatory on a Mussulman, and it is always answered by the words *Alec-ef-salam*; to thee also be peace. This Salutation is never used but by Mussulmen and to Mussulmen.—The Indian salutation consists in an inclination of the head and body, with the palm of the hand, that is, the four fingers, carried and applied flat to the middle forehead, so as to cross it vertically. This is the salute which for instance any man, not an equal, would make to Mubarec-eddo8lah, the nominal Navvab of Bengal: the latter would return the salute, or as is the Indian expression, would take it up, by keeping his head erect, and carrying his four fingers to the top of his turbant, or if more kind, to his fore-head. To persons of some distinction, a full inclination of the head is added, a half, a quart, an eight: all niceties which a careful observation may take notice of, with as many more in the person who inclines both his head and body.

those

those illustrious personages; and he intermixed his discourses with such marks of benignity and attention, as well as grandeur and superiority, as charmed and over-awed them all.

VERSES:

“ Wise man, said he in verses, do not raise a Buckler again an arrow shot by
“ fate.

“ When destiny leads the attack, it is immaterial whether thou be behind the wall
“ of a fortress, or in an open plain.

“ Crouch to the ground, when merciless adversity directs its shaft against thee:

“ Crouch low, that it may pass over thee without doing thee harm.”

He continued discoursing in this manner until the dawn of the day, when the bacäol, or superintendant of the kitchen office, announced that his Majesty was served. Ab81-Hassen turning to the Imperialists asked their leave, and also invited them to partake of his repast. Some amongst them, who were of a rough intolerant temper, were for objecting to his having that liberty; but the Persian Moguls found no inconvenience at all in it; and Moqhtar-Qhan in particular, with two or three more, accepted the invitation. Roh-ollah-Qhan excused himself politely, but could not help expressing his amazement at a meal taken at such a time. “ It is my
“ customary time,” said Ab81-Hassen.—*admitted*, said Roh-ollah-Qhan, *I know it; but cannot understand how you find an inclination to eat at this very time.* “ General” said the king “ what you say is rational; but such
“ is my confidence in that God that has created me, as he does kings and
“ beggars promiscuously, that I am inclined to believe he never withdraws
“ his wonted look of goodness totally from his creatures, and never deprives
“ them intirely of such portion of subsistence as he has allotted them at
“ first; and although my venerable parents have taken abundant care to
“ bring me up with that delicacy and that grandeur, in which I chanced
“ to be born, yet I remember still that it was in the designs of that
“ same Providence that I should pass some part of my life in the garb
“ of a Fakir and beggar, in the same manner that it was in its decrees
“ that

Singular conver-
sation between
him and the Im-
perial generals.

" that I should afterwards be put at once and in an hour's time, in
 " possession of an Empire without the secret springs of that revolution having
 " been ever suspected, either by me or by any others. Praises be to its
 " goodness! that he has put it in my power to quit a crown without
 " regret: there is no pleasure but which I have enjoyed to satiety; no
 " wish but which I have seen filled to my heart's content. Corors
 " have come to my hands and have been spent with ease; I have made
 " presents by lacks at a time; and now that in punishment of some impro-
 " per actions of which I have been guilty in my days of dominion, pro-
 " vidence has thought proper to withdraw out of my hands the royal
 " sceptre with which it had once entrusted me, I still acknowledge it's
 " goodness in this particular, that it has not transferred my crown to any,
 " but to a Musulman monarch, and that too, only after I had enjoyed it as
 " much time as was probably allotted to my life."

AFTER having said so much, he took his meal quietly, and then having
 arrayed himself in a magnificent dress, he sent for his favorite horse and he
 mounted, surrounded by the Imperial generals, who seemed only a part of
 the royal cortege that followed him in a long train. At the gate of the
 city he found the Imperial Prince Azm-Shah, who had pitched a tent just
 to land in it, and to wait for his coming; and to him he presented the
 chaplet of pearls, which he then wore hanging at his neck, requesting him
 to accept it as his nezur (85). The Prince spoke to him with kindness,
 condoled with him on this reverse of fortune, and carried him to the Em-
 peror. Such a sight softened even that covetous man's heart: he received
 him with demonstrations of honor and regard; and after having kept him
 some days in camp, in which time he appointed him a suitable pension and
 a proper quantity of apparel, provisions and perfumes, to be presented
 him daily out of the Imperial wardrobe, he sent him to the fortresses of

(58) The Nezur is not always presented in money; but it is at all times an indispensable token of respect.
 Even those that do not take it up, never fail to signify their acceptance by touching it, be it, as is often the
 case, a trooper's sabre. Here it appears that the Prince did not dare to signify his acceptance.

Dö8let-abad, where he was to be confined. After this interview, the Emperor sent Roh-ollah-Qhan again in the fortress with a number of accomplices and other penmen to take an account of the dethroned king's effects and of those of his ministers. Roh-ollah-Qhan on taking possession of the palace, ordered Abdol-Rezac, the Larian, to be brought before him. The man was in a swoon, but breathed freely; they took up the four corners of his bed and laid it down in the hall of audience. At this moment Saf-shiken-Qhan, thinking to ingratiate himself with the by-standers, exclaimed: "*This is that impure Mahmed-Rezac, the Larian; we must cut off his head, and send it to the Emperor; and after that hang it up at the gate.*" R8h-ollah-Qhan, on finding that these words had been heard with silence, observed, after some pause, that to cut off, without an express order, the head of a man half-dead, would not prove consonant to that sense of humanity which is inherent in all brave men: and this observation having been received with silence again, R8h-ollah-Qhan took a pen and wrote a note to the Emperor on the man's condition. The Emperor who had always been an open admirer of his heroical prowess, and a secret approver of his unshaken fidelity, answered the note, by sending two Indian surgeons and two European ones, with orders to take the utmost care of him, and to report daily to the presence an account of his condition, and how far they had or had not any hopes of his recovery; and on R8h-ollah-Qhan's making his own report, the monarch answered: *had it been Ab8l-Hassen's good fortune to have had such another servant, or at least another general, as faithful and as zealous as Abdol-Rezac, the conquest of the place would have taken up a great deal more time, and possibly might have become impracticable at last.*" The surgeons being introduced a little after, reported, that, *the man had seventy wounds that required both suture and unguents, besides a number of small others: that one of his eyes was entirely disabled; and although the other did not seem to be materially injured, yet it appeared that it had suffered, and probably would remain without office.* The Emperor, having heard the report attentively, dismissed the surgeons, recommending

recommending the man to their care, and promising them his favor on that condition. Thirteen days after, they came again, and announced, that Abdol-Rezac had opened his eye, and spoke some incoherent words; but that his wounds had assumed a favorable appearance; and that there were hopes of his recovering. The Emperor seemed pleased, and a few days after, he sent him a message in these words: "I have forgiven your conduct—send
 " your eldest son, Abdol-Cadyr, to Court, with such of your other chil-
 " dren as you shall think most deserving, that I may raise them to dignities,
 " offices, and honors; and let them humble themselves in their father's
 " name, and thank me for having forgiven your conduct, and for my being
 " inclined to promote you to high commands, suitable to your rank." That valorous man, after hearing the message, answered: "I acknowledge
 " his Majesty's goodness for all the kindnesses shewn me; but although
 " this deformed soul of mine, is not yet gone out of this mangled body;
 " yet in the condition in which it now chances to be, it is not in the nature
 " of things that life should hold out: nevertheless, should he that can res-
 "uscitate the dead, think proper to exhibit a token of his plenitude of pow-
 "er by restoring life to this body, of what use shall it be then to his
 " Majesty or to me, with both hands and legs disabled? but admitting
 " that I ever shall be able to serve again, a man that owes this flesh and this
 " blood to Ab81-Hassen's nursing and care, cannot consent to serve the
 " Emperor Aòreng-zib."

Noble proceed-
 ings of the Em-
 peror towards
 Abdol-Rezac.

THE Emperor on hearing this answer, could not help betraying some displeasure and surprise; but he had the equity to pay many encomiums to his unshaken attachment; and he made him a present of whatever effects should have remained in his house, or might be recovered from the sack and plunder.

As to those of Ab81-Hassen's, after all that had been made away, and after all that furniture that had been taken possession of, they were found
 to

to amount to no less than sixty-eight lacs and fifty-one thousand H8ns (Pagodas) in gold, and two corores and fifty-three thousand rupees in silver, which two sums were computed to amount to six corores eighty lacs and ten thousand Rupees. This was exclusive of the gold and silver furniture, and of jewels and gems; from this calculation of Hashem-Ally-Qhan Qhafi's it appears that the H8n in his time was valued at seven rupees, and of course, that it must have been of a higher standard and of greater weight than the H8ns of our days. All this was entered in the Imperial books for one Arib, fifteen corores and sixteen lacs of dams (59). It was on this occasion that a nobleman of the court, then called Multekyt-Qhan, and since known under the title of Mir-Qhan, but whose original name was Mîr-Abdol-Kerim, and who had been present at all these transactions, complimented the Emperor with a relation of this siege, under the title of *Conquest of Golconda*: an elegant book, in which he pays the highest encomiums to that country, to the strength of that fortress, and to the beauty of Haider-abad, its capital. And in fact the excellence of the air and water of that tract of ground, the beauty of its women, and the fertility and high product of its lands, are such as cannot be properly described.

THE fortress of Golconda was originally enclosed with a mud wall, by the ancestors of the rajah Dē8-Räi, the last of its Hindoo Princes; and it was from that Prince that the Musulman Princes of the house of Behmen took it. This family becoming extinct in process of time in the person of Soltan-Mahm8d-Behemen, the kingdom was parcelled out by a variety of pretenders, amongst which one Soltan-C8ly, alias C8t8b-el-Mulk, one of the Lords of the court, kept possession of the fortress of Golconda. This Soltan-C8ly, from that time, became the Sovereign of that country, and built in stone the mud wall raised by Dē8-Räi. His descendants, all fir-named C8t8b-el-Mulk (60), as well as himself, being firmly established

(59) The accounts, of the Exchequer of Hindostan are kept in Dams, a copper piece of forty to a Rupee; an Arib is a hundred Corores.

(60) These are probably those Princes called in the Portuguese histories of India, Codamaluco and Mameluco; altho' the latter word looks very much like Nizam-el-Mulk.

in that new kingdom of their's, took pleasure successively in strengthening the fortifications of their new capital. In process of time the crown devolved to Mahmed-C8ly C8t8b-el-Mulk, who much enlarged his dominions, but fell so much in love with a famous dance-girl, called Bagh-Muti, that, at her persuasion he purchased a great tract of land at two coffes distance from Golconda, and having built a town on that spot, he called it Bagh-nagar, from that beloved woman's name. And as she was originally a prostitute, her morals and customs became the fashion in the new town, which abounded with public houses of prostitution; as well as tipling shops: in process of time the morals became so bad in the new city, that its inhabitants acquired a bad character, which is even become proverbial (61) all over India. One of the succeeding Princes, informed of the bad renown, and of its origin, ordered the city to be called by the name of Háider-abad, or colony of Háider; but whereas Ab8l-Hassen, the last of the Kings of that family, seemed a Prince addicted more than any of them to all kinds of pleasures, and especially to singing and dancing exhibitions; and his antagonist, on the contrary, was pluming himself on his abstinence and morals, and had assumed the cloak of religion, and pretended to a great purity of manners and to the title of saint; hence he christened the city by the

(61) The Decan being yet a country newly subdued, and full of strong holds, fortresses, and zemindars, the collection of the revenue is not to be effected but by an army; hence it's sovereigns are always in a progress from Haider-abad to Aoreng-abad, two Capitals of half a million of souls each, and much better built than the Indian cities; but as all the seraglios and wives are constantly left there, whilst the husbands live in the field for two or three consecutive campaigns; hence the women of those two cities have fallen under very heavy imputations; and as most of the cities in India are sarcastically described in short pieces of poetry, the reader will not be displeased to see a specimen of them.

Háider-abad, Narva—Haider-abad, a fine city with a bridge,
Hat-me findica carva—Where all people are seen with a cup of Sindi (or Tody) in their hands,
Nitche mati, 3par cb8na—Where the houses are mud within, and lime without,
Dj8r3 Cbinal, Kysum Barva—And where all wives are whores, and all husbands pimps.
Aoreng-abad, cast8ri—A charming place, that Aoreng-abad, where, if you take a house to hire, you have
Haveli, Bara; Bibi, d88ri—the lady of the house into the bargain,
Panip8t, Carnal, Panip8t and Carnal—where the boys are *catamites* at thirteen,—and the girls, whores at twelve.
Tira barsca gandia, bara barski cbinal.
Barr neito Barra—Bar, or if you will, Barra, where jack-asses are excellent, and men are jack-asses.
Gad-ba Babadyr, admi, gad-a—Jack-asses. Bar is a town in the neighbourhood of Dehly, inhabited by *Seyds*, brave, but of little understanding; so that they say in proverb, *Bar-a-abmac*, a blockhead of Barr; and, by the bye *Barr* is the sound uttered by Indians when they want to imitate the braying of an ass.

name of Djehad-abad, or the theatre of sacred war; after having previously taken care to plunder the inhabitants and to ruin their habitations. In fact, he had but two objects in view: the first to bring in his possessions those treasures in money and jewels which Abool-Hassen was reported to have, and which he really had; the second, to ruin and demolish those numerous societies of learned Shyabs, which abounded in that capital. This city, after Aorenzib's death went by the name of Ferqhundeh-abad, or the auspicious city; and such was it's name in the Imperial books; for it became in vogue by Soltan Muázzeem-Bahadyr-Shah's order; but it did not make fortune; and that capital goes now by no other name than that of Háider-abad.

Riches found
in Golconda.

THE Emperor after this conquest turned his standards towards Bidjap8r, where he being informed of Abdol-Rezac's recovery, he wrote to the governor of Háiderabad, commanding him to send that general to Court, after giving him hopes of very kind treatment. The man hearing of the Emperor's intention, excused himself in a supplique to his majesty, requesting that his goodness might give him leave to perform his pilgrimage to the house of god (62); from whence he intended to return to his own native (63) town, there to spend his day's in praying for his prosperity. The emperor shocked at his answer commanded that he should be sent to camp as prisoner; and this order would have been executed, had not Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, the generalissimo, who was now recovered of his wounds, interceded for him, and requested to have him in his custody, which was granted: this general carried him to his quarters, where he gained so much upon his mind by his good manners and attentions, that

(62) The house of God is the Caaba, or square house, from time immemorial, the object of veneration and Pilgrimages of the Arabians before Mohammed; it is now surrounded by an open area, and then by a vast enclosure in four Porticos, each of which would be a large Mosque by itself. This temple or inclosure is called the Haram, and with the temple of Medina, they are called the Haremein or the two sacred temples. But the square house within the haram of Mecca, is not called otherwise than Caaba. It must be observed that when a Musalman asks leave to make the Pilgrimage of Mecca, he cannot be refused, without sin.

(63) Lar, a city in the south of Persia, in which the water, scarce, brackish and bitter, as it is, gives an admirable temper to fabres.

he engaged him to accept the brevet of four thousand horse, with the effectual command of three thousand; by this winning conduct the generalissimo put an end to an altercation that did the Emperor, very little honor; for since that prince had conceived so high an esteem for the man's merit, he ought to have dismissed him to his own country, by making him a present of a large sum of money; else, if he intended absolutely to keep him in his service, he ought to have paid so much regard to his disabled condition as to render him a visit, or have sent to him one of the Princes his sons, or at least his generalissimo: in one word he ought to have used him in such an obliging manner as to disarm his aversion: it would have been time then to have proposed to him some brevets, commands, and dignities, superior to those bestowed on so many of Abool-Hassen's servants, as the price and reward of their ingratitude and perfidy: for instance, on Hibrahim-Qhan, and on Sheh-Nizam. He ought, by raising him to superior dignities and commands, and by paying him a much different and much superior regard, to have evinced to the world how much a spotless fidelity and an unshaken attachment were superior in his estimation to all the advantages procured by perfidy and treason. such a conduct would have given to his own servants lessons of fidelity and zeal; whereas, after having promoted the traitors to ranks of seven thousand horse, he contended himself with bestowing four thousand only upon the worthy Abdol-Rezac; and these too he rather forced upon him by the terrors of severe usage. It was in this same manner, and with as little foresight, that he used so kindly that accursed Afghan, the abominable Melec-Djiven, a wretched that owed his life and his very existence to that same Darah-Shecoh, whom he conducted to an ignominious death. If it was consonant to politics to avail himself of that treacherous Afghan's perfidy, it would have been sound policy at least, after having obtained his ends from him, to imprison him, or to abandon him to all the neglect and contempt which he deserved: possibly it would have been proper to have had him executed along with Dara-Shecoh, or to have cut off his head,

as a warning to others, were it but to prove to his own servants that he hated treason, even when he availed himself of its advantages. So far from that, he shewed so much regard to that traitor, as if he had no other aim than that of giving lessons of perfidy and faithlessness. A strange mistake indeed, and a surprising error this! in his politics and in his conduct!

We might recollect another strange instance of neglect and inattention in his temper, and it is this: that same Saadet-Qhan whom he had sent as envoy to S8ltan-Ab8l-Hassen, and who had served him so zealously at the very expence of his character, as an honest man, and indeed at the imminent risk of his life, (when he found means to cheat that Prince out of forty or fifty lacks worth of jewel) that same Saadet-Qhan after the conquest of Golcondah, was severely reprimanded, and unworthily disgraced; and that too for no higher crime than that of his having remitted of his zeal in blowing the fire of dissention, that is, by not mentionning some parts of Ab8l-Hass'n's conduct, which possibly had never come to his knowledge; this man, who had so readily risked his life in his service, was mulcted in his military rank and command, and deprived of a sum of about eighty thousand rupees, which he was now ordered to send to the treasury, but which the Sultan had made him a present of, as he had himself mentioned in his dispatches to the Emperor. This man who fell into so much disgrace for a whole year is the man of whom Hashem-Aly-Qhan-Qhafi, the historian, writes this singular anecdote in his diary: "I was, says he, in Saadet-Qhan's company at the very time when he became entrusted with the custody of the jewels he had sent from Hâider-abad; his friends observed to him repeatedly that as there was not amongst those jewels any note signed by Abool-Hassen, of either their weight, colour, or respective prices, it was in his power to enrich himself at once by keeping up the number, and substituting a few stones of lesser value." The man declined the expedient and swore he would be faithful to the very last.

AND

And here I must inform the reader that in citing that historian so often, and in availing myself so much of the matter afforded by his book, I have only pretended to set in a proper light Soltan Abool-Hassen's character: The resignation, firmness, and magnanimity, with which he parted from so high a rank, and so exalted a station; and the calmness of temper with which he endured so sudden a revolution, and one so capable of unhinging the mind of even a Fakir, and a poor man, (people naturally inured to patience and resignation from habit and principle), deserve the highest admiration. May the merciful God have vouchsafed to forgive and console him! And in fact he wore the robes of sovereignty with as much indifference as a Fakir does his cloak. Nor is it a small token of Divine favour upon him, that his throne chanced to be supported by a servant of such heroical prowess, and so eminent military talents as his general Abdol-Rezac, whose unshaken attachment and indefatigable zeal became the more conspicuous and admirable, as the besiegers themselves had long ago ceased to entertain any hopes of success and salvation: in a time so discouraging, at the very moment of the place's being surpris'd, to expose one's life so prodigally to succour an ill fated master, and to thirst so ardently after that bitter cup of wounds which death was tendering every where: these are exertions that seem to go beyond the power of humanity, and that will at all times challenge the admiration of mankind. After that, let the reader cast an impartial eye on the obstinacy, covetousness, endless artifices, and perpetual double-dealing of Aoreng-zib's conduct; on his unrelenting vindictive temper, his unsatiable ambition, and the public lessons by which he continually encouraged faithlessness, perfidy, and treason, on one hand; and on the other, let him consider the valuable qualities which shine in Ab8l-Hassen and in Abd8l-Rezac's characters; and then let him chuse for himself, and determine what he ought to imitate in those two exalted characters, and what to reject and to execrate in that vile conduct so conspicuous in Aorengzib: for this world, after all, is but transitory, and must pass, and that prince's punishment is doubtless in reserve in the

other life. Ab81-Hoffen and Abdol-Rezac, with their firmness and magnanimity, are gone: Aoreng-zib is gone likewise; and nothing has remained, or will remain, but what the recording page of history has said and will say. And although that Emperor carried his attention and foresight so far as to forbid the annalysts and historians of his time from writing the history of the latter part of his life; nevertheless his endeavours have been of no avail, and the detail of his viles and infamy has been handed down to the latest posterity: But supposing that such a detail could have remained concealed from its knowledge, how could it escape the scrutinising eye of the Almighty observer of hearts, or the probe of that Omnipotent Searcher of secrets? of that being I say, which knows intuitively the recesses of every one's conduct?

BUT let us cease to anticipate the reader's reflections by our own; and let us return to our own Narrative.—As the monarchy of Haider-abad was put an end to in the person of Ab81-Haffen, who was the last of the C8t8b-Shahian's family, it shall not be unacceptable to our readers to hear some further particulars of that unhappy Prince in this place: they shall be amazed to hear how he rose, how he acquired a kingdom, how Providence drew for him from it's inexhaustible treasury the sweets of high dignities and the glories of so exalted a rank, with all the happiness attending absolute dominion and length of reign; and the by-stander's imagination will be confounded on observing how he was, by an event almost unparalleled in history, placed upon the throne of Haider-abad. This is the more proper, as otherwise the lovers of History would have reason to complain, that after having raised their curiosity to a pitch, by recounting the singular conversation that passed between the dethroned King and the generallissimo, conversation in which that prince spoke mysteriously of his former Fakyr's garb, and of his present Royal attire; I left them to their own surprise and astonishment, without having so much as attempted to afford ease to their feelings, by solving the knots of an ænigma

so uncommon and so amazing. Abd8llah-c8t8b-Shah, who reigned about sixty years, having no son; and God Almighty having given him only three daughters, he bestowed one of them on Séyd Nizam-eddin-Ahmed the Hufseinian (65), who was an undoubted Séyd of the illuminated city of Medina, being of the race of that oracle of learning, Emir-ynaïet-eddin-Manf8r, the Shirazian, (whose spirit may God have sanctified!) for the number of learned men produced by that illustrious family, cannot be unknown to those that love history; the most eminent amongst them, are that Prince of philosophers Emir-Sadr-eddin-Mohammed-deftghi the Shirazian, and Séyd Mubarec-Shah, as well as Mir-asyl-eddin, and Mir Djemal-eddin-Muhdef8, without mentioning so many others. He was born in the illuminated city of Medina, from whence he came to Shiraz in Iran, and settled in that theatre of learning. Having acquired an estate and some lands in the territory of that city, he lived with dignity and splendor for a number of years, when he thought proper to return to Hedjaz (66); and it is in that country that his son Séyd-aly-Qhan was born. After that he quitted Arabia and went to Hindia, where he took up his abode at Haiderabad in Decan; where in time he became the King's son-in-law, as we have already mentioned. This Prince, observing abilities and talents in him, gave him the management of several parts of the administration, and raised him to high dignities and employments. Some years after, there came another illustrious Séyd from Arabia, a Séyd Soltan, a learned man, who had studied under the former Séyd's father, the lear-

Romantick,
but yet histori-
cal account of A-
b8l-Haffen, the
last king of Hai-
der-abad.

(65) That it the Séyd descended from Hufseïn, because there are other Séyds descended from his brother Haffen. This whole account of the king's two daughter, and of his two sons-in-law, looks somewhat romantic to an European, who cannot but wonder to see that two Arabian Adventurers with only a bad cloak upon their backs, and a beard not exempt from vermin, should jump all at once into the king's palace: but such is the pitch to which the veneration of Indians for all kinds of foreigners, and for Arabian Séyds in particular can—rise at sometimes, that this transaction looks full as strange, as if a Dutch minister, just landed from the Texel, should at once be admitted into the British King's palace, and espouse one of his daughters, and then become the principal peer of the kingdom. But such is India; and a Persian or Tartar adventurer would have been as much welcomed in the palace of Haiderabad: nor are there in India any men artists of their own fortunes, but such foreigners. Nizam-el-Mulk was son to a Tartar; Saadet Qhan and Ab8l-Manfoor-Qhan were Persians: but Haider-Naic is an exception to the general rule: Although an adventurer, he was Indian born.

(66) That part of Arabia where are seated the cities of Mecca the glorious, and Medina the illuminated.

ned and venerable Sëyd Ahmed. King C8t8b-Shah took this Sëyd also in favour, raised him to dignities and honours, and betrothed his second daughter to him; and he seemed to take a pleasure in producing him to the world. Unfortunately a jealousy arose between the two Sëyds, that is between Sëyd Nizam-eddin-Ahmed, who was already become the King's son-in-law, and Sëyd Soltan, who was designed for that honour. Once it happened that the King asked the latter whether he had any knowledge of the ancestors of Sëyd Ahmed? the other answered that he had, and that he was a learned man, son to a learned man, and grandson to a learned man; *which last had been his own master and teacher* (to Sëyd Soltan). As this answer, which after all was nothing but truth, was pronounced with a certain air, it made an impression on Sëyd Ahmed, who from that moment became averse to him: and his aversion was kept up by a number of tale-tellers, who took care to furnish fresh fuel to it every day, inasmuch that they became enemies to each other; and their enmity was upon the increase, when preparations commenced for the nuptials of the late King's second daughter, already betrothed. Sëyd Soltan espoused the Princess; and rejoicing and feasting became universal all over the city, where every market, as well as every door and gate, exhibited a scene of festivity and decoration, that surprised and charmed the beholder. On the very night when Sëyd Soltan was to be carried to his bride (64), another offensive expression dropped from his mouth, and an improper action took place; which so displeased Sëyd-Ahmed, that he went to C8t8b-Shah, and with a solemn oath told him that if the marriage should take place, he would,

(64) The Bridegroom is carried by a number of friends within the apartment of the women, which are all concealed, save a certain number of old women, who lead the way to an illuminated room into which all the women peep from behind their covers, and where the bride sits on a mat, the head inclined forwards, with the face, shoulders, and shape, entirely covered by her veil (which is always transparent, but folded double). The bridegroom being made to sit close to her, is presented with a looking-glass over which they have laid a Koran, and a pair of scissors. Both the young folks being made to kiss the Koran, have an opportunity of looking at each other in the glass. After this ceremony, the bridegroom presents his bride with the *MS declai*, or shew-face, (a quantity of gold coin) and just raising her veil, gets a peep at her charms, and then withdraws immediately to the assembly-room, being re-conducted thither by those that had stopped behind the door of the hall.

himself,

himself quit his court, from which he hoped he would dismiss him.— He had at the same time taken measures for quitting Háider-abad. In vain did the old King, in vain did his ministers endeavour to pacify him, and to bring the two Séyds to terms of decency and mutual forbearance; their efforts proved fruitless, and their endeavours, abortive. But as Séyd-Ahmed's influence had taken root this long while both at Court and within the sanctuary; and C8t8b-Shah's principal consort had openly espoused his concerns, together with all the ladies of the Seraglio; and all the King's private friends were also on his side; the old King was confounded at this general opposition, and found himself at a loss how to act, even after consulting his ministers and favourites. At last they fell upon this expedient, that the Princess should be bestowed, not on the man to whom she had been betrothed, and who had come to carry her to his home, but on Ab8l-Hassen, a young nobleman, very nearly related to the King on the mother's side. But this Ab8l-Hassen, having from his tenderest youth conceived such an inclination for the company of Fakirs, as to assume their very garb and manners; and this new kind of life having communicated to his words and actions a strange levity which had rendered him disagreeable to the King, he had fallen into a total neglect; nor could he be prevailed to drop so much as a look upon his person: Hence the young man finding no resource in the world, still more strongly addicted himself to that strange way of life; and he was now living under the roof of a Fakir called Séyd-Radj8, whom he had chosen for his saint and director, and whose lessons he was actually hearing; when the king's messengers after much search found him out, and announced to him his good fortune. They carried him to a bath, dressed him with elegance and magnificence, put a crown of pearl upon his head, and mounting him upon a superb horse, that carried a saddle enriched with jewel-work enamelled, they carried him to the palace, where the bride, the costly presents, and the high dignities that had been prepared for Séyd-Soltan, were at once bestowed upon him; infomuch that the festivity

He proves disagreeable to the King.

and nuptials, that had commenced in another's name were, continued in his. The bride was put in his hands: he was acknowledged Prince of the blood; and from that moment fortune became so favourable, that he rose in estimation, and was thought equal to any dignity and any office in the state. But by this time Séyd-Ahmed was become so proud of his own high extraction, as well as of his having espoused the eldest princess; and he had become so haughty and overbearing, as to make no account of any lords of the court, nor of any grandees of the state, save Séyd Morteza, who drew his pedigree from the Kings of Mazenderan (67); and was become a man of consequence in the kingdoms of Decan, and one of the principal commanders of the troops. Such haughty pretensions naturally estranged all the ministers from him; but above all they lost him the hearts of the ladies of the seraglio, by whose assistance he had always carried his point. No wonder then if all the hearts should naturally turn towards Aboul-Hassen now Soltan-Abul-Hassen, who without familiarising himself with any one, behaved with so much condescension and so much sweetness of temper to all, that people were quite at their ease in his company, where they were always treated with a brotherly civility, and an easy politeness. Soltan-Cotob-Shah dying at this very time, and dissensions arising at Court, as well as disputes in the city about a successor to the Crown; Séyd-Ahmed shewed himself in arms in the palace, with a number of troops, ready to oppose any pretender; and on the other hand the Soltana-Zer-o-Mah (68), the principal consort, shewed herself with a sabre in her hand, at the head of a number of Tartarian and Habeshinian female slaves, armed. The grandees of the Kingdom mean while disagreeing likewise, tumult and war were making their appearance in every part of the city; and God knows how far the flames of civil dissention might have spread, had not Séyd Morteza, the principle General of the troops, vigorously interposed.

(67) A province of Iran or Persia, South of the Caspian Sea. It is surrounded on three sides by high Mountains and thick *Mazy* forrests, whence it has received the name of *Maz-enderan* in Persian.

(68) The Princess's sun and moon.

By his mediation, and the able management of his two agents, Madina and Enganna, two brother Brahmans who had his confidence, all the Grantees and Ministers agreed to confer the Crown on Soltan Ab81-Haffen; and to reject Séyd-Ahmed, who was vanquished and driven away. But the tumults and dissensions did not end here: Séyd-Morteza, proud of his eminent station, and still more so of his having been so instrumental in placing Ab81-Haffen on the throne, had assumed an air of independence in all his discourses and actions, which the new King bore for some time, but which at last had become intolerable; and the fire of a civil war was going to blaze again, when Madina, the Brahman, who had now become the new king's confidant and Prime Minister, found means to gain over to his side all the commanders and officers who had hitherto supported Séyd-Morteza; so that this General finding himself at once deprived of both wings and feathers, thought proper to submit to controul. These important services made such an impression on the new king, that he bestowed the casket of the Vezirship on Madina, and entrusted his brother, Enganna, with the details and offices which his elder brother had left vacant by his promotion. And it is from thence that must be dated that minister's influence, and his master's gratitude:—And it is here that ends our history.

LET us now pour our acknowledgements on God Almighty's threshold, for his having vouchsafed us his divine assistance; and let us praise his goodness endlessly for his having condescended to make use of so humble and so unadequate an instrument as this penman (who is the last of men) to array this third volume in the robes of style and arrangement, and to attire it with the ornament of completion and finishing, in such a manner as to promise these fragile leaves the permanency which was hoped for, and intended for them. Praise be to him! that in the composition of this Work, exactitude and impartiality have been to the best of my abilities, objects of scrupulous attention; and that they afford the satisfaction to think
that

that the labour attending such a performance, has been brought to a proper end. I rely so far on the goodness of that Omnipotent Being, as to hope that he shall vouchsafe to irradiate these humble leaves in such a manner, as shall render them capable of illumining the hearts, and of enlightening the understandings, of the ruling men of this age, by giving to the unadequate and feeble ink of this humblest of men all the qualities of a Collyrium capable of detarging the eyes of men of knowledge! May his beneficence bestow such an efficacy and such a currency on the paradisiacal maxims sprinkled on every part of this composition, as may render them wholesome and savoury, like those waters said to flow from Heaven; and equally salutary and palatable to the governing part of mankind! may they serve to cleanse their eyes of those immondices so capable to cloud their lustre, and so proper to keep them closed with the pride of sloth, and slumbering with the intoxicating fumes of power and dominion: for the utmost wish of my ambition, and the direct scope of my steering, have been to reclaim and to awaken those slothful men, who, forgetful of their own-selves, seem to slumber their lives away in the lap of inertia and the blindness of ignorance: whenever that end is accomplished, I shall presume that this book, teeming with blemishes as it is, has been the means of attracting the Divine forgiveness upon my unworthy self. In one word, I firmly hope from the Supreme goodness, that in the verification of the holy oracle "*My mercy goes faster than my anger;*" and in compliance with that holy sentence, "*He is truth itself,*" he shall vouchsafe to convert the fond hope of so sinful a being into completion and reality; for "*He is truth itself, and the Supreme Goodness.*"

THIS has been written by the weak and decayed hand of the poorest of those that beg at the gate of the All-bountiful God; that is, by Gh8-lam-Hussēin, the Hussēinian, son to Sēyd-Hedāiet-Aaly-Qhan, Grand son to Sēyd-Aalim-ollah, great-grand son to Sēyd-faiz-ollah, the Tebatebā, (on whom all may grace and mercy rest for ever!) through the merits of
of

of the prince of prophets, and the intercession of the last of messengers, Mohammed, the seal of envoys; as well as through those of his pure and innocent offspring, (on whom all may grace and mercy rest for ever till the day of the last Judgement!). And the work has been finished the third day of the second week of that blessed month of Ramazan, which comes the seventh in order, in the series that compose the ninety-fifth year of the twelfth century that has elapsed since the auspicious and prophetic flight of that noble being,—on whom be grace and praise for ever!

*Copied by the Rebellious, the sinful
Mohammed-Bafsäon, the Hofsëni-
an.*

F I N I S.

of the prince of prophets, and the intercession of the last of messengers, Mohammed, the last of envoys; as well as through those of his pure and innocent offspring, (on whom all may grace and mercy rest for ever till the day of the last judgement). And the work has been finished the third day of the second week of that blessed month of Ramazan, which comes the seventh in order, in the series that compose the ninety-fifth year of the twelfth century that has elapsed since the auspicious and prophetic light of that noble being,--on whom be grace and praise for ever!

Copyed by the Rebellion, the Rebel,
Mohammed-Bekoon, the Rebel.

R I N I N

ERRATA

ERRATA OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

15th SECTION MARKED 1st BY MISTAKE.

Page Line 1 Section first, read Section 15th
 3 17 Cavalry, the latter — Cavalry: the latter
 4 33 Foot paan — P81-pa
 4 33 Matem-poxi — Maatem-porfi
 7 3 Lahor — Lahor
 9 6 Nevol-Ray — Nevol-Ray
 10 2 attolobe — attolobe
 — 26 it begin — it begins
 — 30 the officient — the officiant
 11 15 by the Elephants — Elephants
 12 5 on their Zin-posh — on their Zinposhes
 15 14 for the officer — and the officer
 16 1 who having been — and who having been
 — 28 Cashmerian — Cashmirian
 18 17 on the month — In the month
 23 3 the Brahmins — the Brahmins
 25 23 and thereby to give — and thereby give
 32 29 to take the man — to hate the man
 39 39 no Englishmen — no, Englishmen
 27 30 Qhalifat residences — Qhalifat residences
 40 15 siting — siting up
 41 14 Moor-Mahmed — N8r-Mahmed
 — new Monarch: — new Monarch.
 46 30 hearing his name — bearing his name
 49 25 hindoo — hindians
 51 31 took only on the other part, — took only in the other part
 52 20 prove — prove
 53 14 application — appreciations
 54 8 having being — having been
 55 5 Ghilani — Ghilani
 56 1 accomodement — accommodation
 37 3 fell to eating — fell a eating
 59 14 Elephant, — Elephant:
 60 6 Sher-hend — Ser-hend
 — 10 those where — where
 61 14 his people — his people
 62 5 in the castle — as the Castle
 65 3 in the field, — In the field.
 65 9 accomodement — accommodation
 69 11 to the keennets — the keennets
 — 5 that was brought — which was brought
 73 21 of the Governments — Governments
 76 3 8dem-Bay — 8dem-Bay
 — 15 Crapulence — Crapule
 77 10 of it, expelled — of it, had expelled
 78 27 Prayers for mercy and health upon his beads of clay — Prayers upon his clay of mercy and health
 79 13 and accomodement — and accommodation
 81 23 about an accomodement — about an accommodation
 82 5 marched streight — marched strait
 87 12 the battle had — t he flight had

Page Line

89 11 Emir-qhan's house, read Emir-qhan's house.
 — 14 shut themselves — shut themselves up
 — 20 he had — had
 — 22 But although was — but although he was
 90 2 and gallop — and to Gallop
 91 11 accomodement — accommodation
 94 22 and at hand, they — And at hand they
 — 24 After his defeat, — after his defeat.
 95 32 always provisions — always Prov fions
 96 13 Into despondence — Into a despondency
 — 16th SECTION, MARKED 2d BY MISTAKE.
 102 4 a humiliating treaty — an humiliating treaty
 107 21 a Counter order — a Controder
 108 3 he could arrive the greatest — he could arrive, the greatest
 109 5 the Siight — the flight
 — 28 the Branian tree; and an — the Banian tree, an
 110 9 on the neighborhood — In the neighborhood
 111 18 the parchedness — by the parchedness
 112 — be greatly, conducive — be greatly conducive
 116 15 and and carryed it — and carryed it
 — 23 Martyred — Martyrised
 117 7 Curnatican — Carnation
 118 10 Sey'd Mahmed-qhan — Séyd-Mahmed-qhan
 — 30 on an unsaddled mare — upon, &c. &c.
 120 19 accomplished — accomplished at last,
 124 20 much exasperated the Emperor, — exasperated the Emperor
 128 4 environs — Environs
 — 16 dependence — dependance
 131 6 and who acquired no good — and who augured no good
 132 21 Government — Government
 — 25 and by hunting — and hunting on the way
 134 19 Either their persons or jewells, — either their persons or even those jewells
 135 3 and the ungrateful — and all the ungrateful
 — 16 and accused her — and he accused her
 138 31 that antient victorious of Lahor, — that ancient victorious Viceroy of Lahor
 142 22 hassier-qhan the Deamien — hassien-qhan the Decanian
 143 27 insignia — insigne
 146 11 every thing and few — of every thing; and few
 — 33 another heavy blow, a third — another heavy blow; a third;
 — 34 wrought instantly at the moment of the third stroke: a — wrought instantly: at the moment of the third stroke, a
 147 17 and to the Vizir — and the Vezir
 148 7 a part in hand a part — partly in hand, partly
 149 12 dissentions arose — had arisen
 151 20 formerly that of their — formerly the litle of
 152 25 Major of a place at — Major of the place at
 157 7 Soltan-

ERRATA OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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- 157 7 Soltan-ala-ghlidj — Soltan-alaedin-ghlidji
 — 34 an insignia — an Insigné
 163 19 Augued — Augured
 — 21 Neighbourhood — Neighbourhood.
 Palace. Whatever instances the Vezir made for his residing in the Citadell: he had — Palace, whatever instances the Vezir made for his residing in the Citadel. He had
 164 1 else he advised — else, he advised
 165 15 him, several others — him and several others
 167 25 extended their routs — extended their ravages
 168 8 being guessed at — having been guessed at
 168 26 conquests, to invade, — conquests, he intended to invade
 177 12 through it, and that — through it, that
 177 18 at Illahabad, the — at Illahabad; the
 wished no better the Governor — wished no better, the Governor
 185 1 vezirship he conferred — vezirship he conferred
 185 11 it surrendered immediately — surrounded it immediately
 190 29 but began by plundering — but began plundering
 — it had a large pair of whiskers — it had on a large pair of whiskers
 193 5 A fosse — a fosse
 194 25 he had gone — had gone.
 196 29 where she set it loose — where it set it loose
 197 13 Diffentions in several engagements — Diffentions and several Engagements
 200 8 Streight — Strait
 201 4 set on P8nah — set on fire P8nah
 202 9 Acbar-abad; without — Acbar-abad without
 204 26 gain a victory — gains a victory
 210 24 from a hundred to twelve thousand — from two hundred and fifty to twelve thousand
 215 15 independence — independance
 216 27 Kaïffer — Káïffer
 230 3 whether Gentoo — although Gentoos
 235 3 Insigne — Insigné
 239 20 measureful — full measure
 249 28 manouvre — manœuvre
 250 11 the Marhatta — the Marhattas
 251 18 Place — Palace
 260 5 made as little impressiion — made little impressiion
 261 24 and an exprefs miracle — and an exprefs miracle wrought instantly.
 264 27 Jack asses tail: but — jack-asses tail, but
 264 28 top of her head, — top of her head:
 265 13 Shacken of his inferiority and submission — Shaken off his inferiority and submission
 265 19 Discontent — discontents
 266 11 was limitary — contiguous
 268 17 tall being slender waisted — being tall and slender waisted
 269 5 very much entrusted — very much trusted
 269 9 and by this time had — and having by this time considerably

Page Line

- 270 16 word of God, — word of God;
 273 43 amplified — alambicated
 274 23 and is altered — and it is altered
 276 9 fulfilled, and that — fulfilled; and that
 278 10 taken his fancy — hited his fancy
 280 9 that dared dispute — durst dispute
 280 19 Ingliter — Inghilter
 283 30 An order came to — An order came then to
 289 31 Affef-ed-do8lah — Affef-ed-do8lah's
 294 31 Idolators Astrolaters — Idolaters, Astrolaters
 299 14 with the motion of his features — with a single nod of his
 18th SECTION, MARKED 4th BY MISTAKE.
 325 21 hardships: Such a — hardships. Such a
 326 6 Siezed — Seized
 328 17 Gevaliar — G8aliar
 the English, who hearing — the English hearing
 335 22 revolted — they revolted
 338 24 desperate — Disparate
 341 20 Suspicion: — Suspicion.
 345 17 Maac8l brave Servant — Maac8l a brave Servant
 345 20 of Bedaghshani — Bedaghshani.
 347 12 arresting his brother — arresting his benefactor
 348 20 and he has no Companion — And that he has no Companion
 352 2 Not one thought, of asking, and not one of resolving — No one thought of asking, and no one of resolving
 355 8 Absolete — Obsolete
 360 26 Nations; history — Nations History
 363 21 flavour — flavoured
 364 22 Such a command — Such command
 364 30 Defart clan — defart
 376 25 troops — troopers
 381 36 with the Pillows — a Pillow
 382 17 If you want — if you won't
 383 31 of the reign — of that reign,
 393 13 Ungenerosity — Ungenerousness
 397 15 whomsoever, — whosoever
 397 17 Imperialists. At last — Imperialists at last
 403 10 On that ill fated city — In that ill fated city
 407 28 wore a very long hair — wore very long hairs
 411 9 his usual accustomed quantity; — his accustomed quantity
 414 27 proposed — preposed
 415 30 Mecom — Mécon
 — 33 hac formula legis — hæc formula legis
 421 2 Side — Side
 422 2 proposed — preposed
 426 19 Empting — Emptying
 — 22 Distress and famine. — distress and famine?
 430 26 was Imam-Hufseïn — were Imam-Hufseïn
 442 29 haremein — hareméin
 444 11 of jewel — of jewels

73 Nigam et Mith - composer of the hymns
h. 36 The Abyssinians who were called Indians a superior people.

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Lecture 4

p. 102 Nizam Ali's death and Salabat Jung

203 Continuation of the Maratha history

92. Sheh - Gad cars - a name commonly given to Gaudes no homelands
of the coast
191. Sheres, Alford the westernmost, broken, the better by the Minister

Ġulām H̱usain ̱Hān XD6Tabāṯabā̱ / Lassen, Christian / Brockhaus, Hermann

A translation of the S̱ir Mutaqharin or, view of modern teims, being an
history of India, from the year 1118 to the year 1195 (this year answers
to the christian year 1781 - 1782) of the Hidjrah ...

Bd.: 3

Calcutta (1789)

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